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THE COLVER LECTURES
IN BROWN UNIVERSITY
1920

PLYMOUTH AND THE PILGRIMS

By
Arthur Lord

Brown University. The Colver Lectures, 1920

PLYMOUTH AND THE PILGRIMS

BY

ARTHUR LORD

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Charles Kendrick Colver (1821–1896) was a graduate of Brown University of the class of 1842. The necrologist of the University wrote of him: "He was distinguished for his broad and accurate scholarship, his unswerving personal integrity, championship of truth, and obedience to God in his daily life. He was severely simple and unworldly in character."

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PLYMOUTH AND THE PILGRIMS

I

PLYMOUTH BEFORE THE PILGRIMS

THE Pilgrim movement can be but imperfectly understood if treated as an isolated event in the world's history, without reference to the conditions which preceded it and made its success possible. Looking at it broadly, it was part of a great world movement, and its relation to that movement must be considered in order to understand its meaning and appreciate the result.

No fact has had a greater influence on the history of civilization, as stated by an eminent scholar, than that "the land of the globe is divided into two great sections, the mass of Europe, Asia, and Africa on the one side and the two Americas on the other, and that one of these

worlds remained unknown to the other till only four hundred years ago."

The fact that the New World was situated at such a distance from the other at a time when, unlike the present, the waste of oceans divided, not united, the two continents, made it possible to break old traditions, to revise old institutions, and to think out a new philosophy to fit an infant society, and at the same time whatsoever there was in the inheritance from the Old World which seemed good and available might be kept. It was an opportunity which had never before been offered in history, and in the study of modern institutions that fact must always be borne in mind, for its influence upon the result can never be overestimated.

It must be remembered also how singularly helpful in the development of the North American continent was its configuration, its geographical and topographical details. When Magellan in 1520 passed through the straits which bear his

name and sailed northward through the dreary wastes of the Pacific, he had established the fact that the earth was in reality a globe, not a plane, and that the New World was separated from the Old on both sides by a thousand leagues of ocean.

When Champlain landed upon the Isthmus of Panama, as reported in his narrative of a voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the years 1599–1602, his keen vision noted, as he stood by the little river which rises in the mountains and descends to Porto Bello, that

> One may judge that if the four leagues of land which there are from Panama to this river were cut through, one might pass from the south sea to the ocean on the other side, and thus shorten the route by more than fifteen hundred leagues, and from Panama to the Straits of Magellan would be an Island, and from Panama to the New-Found-Lands would be another island, so that the whole of America would be in two islands.

Again a glance at the map shows that the line of early discoveries established

the fact that the territory which we call the United States has its eastern shores deeply indented by great bays and its interior pierced by mighty rivers, later to become the highways of commerce, which made possible the rapid growth of settlement as soon as political conditions permitted, which would have been impossible elsewhere. For instance, the headwaters of the Hudson nearly meet the mighty St. Lawrence and almost permitted the bark of the early voyager to encircle that northeastern part of the continent lying south of the St. Lawrence and east of the Hudson, as if it were an island. English forces in the Revolution recognized that fact, and it was part of their strategy to separate New England from the other colonies by a union of the forces of Sir William Howe and Burgoyne on the western bank of the Hudson. A union of the Potomac flowing into the Chesapeake with the Ohio flowing into the Mississippi, and the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico, makes another island with these arteries as its northern

and western boundary, and the Atlantic and the Gulf as its southern and eastern boundary. Washington urged that the capital city of the United States be located on the banks of the Potomac because he anticipated the union of the waters of the Ohio and the Potomac by a canal. His clear vision saw the possibility, in this junction of the waterways, of the interchange of the produce of east and west along this imperial highway. Through ages this New World had slept unnoticed by the voyagers and explorers of Europe, if we omit that incident, not a factor in its development, of its discovery by the Northmen.

Without entering into any analytical discussion of those Norse voyages, or of the claim that the "Cape Kjalarnes" of Thorwald is Cape Cod, "Cape Krossanes" is the Gurnet, and that on the Gurnet, at the entrance of Plymouth Harbor, the bold Norseman was buried — without accepting that view too literally, the conclusion which I have reached, after

a somewhat careful consideration of the arguments pro and con, is that so well stated by the latest and best writer upon the subject in his "Voyages of the Norsemen to America," William Hovgaard, late a Commander in the Royal Danish Navy and Professor of Naval Design and Construction in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, published in 1914, that the Norsemen gave to Cape Cod the name of "Cape Kjalarnes" and to a headland, either at Nahant or Marblehead or one of the other headlands near by, the name of "Krossanes." With this passing reference I proceed to the consideration of the recorded and undoubted explorations of that part of the North American continent now mainly included within the limits of the present United States.

When in 1492 Columbus landed on the Island of Guanahani, which he called "San Salvador," in the West Indies, and raised the Spanish flag, the title of Spain in the New World, based upon discovery merely, began, and at once the rival claim

of Portugal, by reason of her discovery of the Azores, was presented. The controversy between these two Catholic countries was submitted to the Pope for his decision, and on the 3d of May, 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued his Bull of Demarcation conferring upon Spain all the lands and islands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered in the western ocean, drawing a line from north to south.

As was to be expected, such a grant of territory could not be accepted by Portugal without a protest, and on the next day a second bull modified the first by fixing the Spanish donation to the west of a meridian drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands.

By the treaty signed at Tordesillas on June 7, 1494, Spain yielded to the demand of Portugal and agreed to the moving of this line west to a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands, namely, between the

forty-first and forty-fourth meridians west of Greenwich, and under this new line of partition the Brazilian coast came to Portugal.

When charters were granted to the Cabots and others for the New World, these charters, in order to be as therein stated "without prejudice to Spain and Portugal," did not grant territorial rights south of forty-four degrees north, a line running through the present Nova Scotia. John Cabot in 1497 had made his landfall on the shores of the New World at some point north of Halifax. How far south along the coast of North America Sebastian Cabot sailed is a matter of controversy, but it is generally admitted that Verazzano, under a commission from Francis I of Portugal, sailing northward from the Carolinas, entered the bays of New York and Newport and then coasted along the shore nearly to Cape Breton. His letter to Francis of July 8, 1524, is the earliest original and contemporaneous description of the Atlantic coast along

which he sailed. If he followed the shoreline as closely as his letter would indicate, it is probable that his frail bark was the first European vessel which the Indian watcher on the hill at Plymouth ever saw.

The extent and influence of the early fisheries in emphasizing and developing the importance of the discovery of the New World as a source of food supply to continental Europe, were a prime factor in stimulating the long line of exploring expeditions in the sixteenth century. An English captain, John Rut, writes to Henry VIII on August 3, 1527, that in the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, he found "eleven sails of Normans and one Brittaine and two Portugal barkes all afishing." By 1577 France was vigorously and successfully carrying on the fishery with not less than one hundred and fifty vessels, and at that date Spain had one hundred ships employed, flying her flag, and the flag of Portugal flew on fifty Portuguese ships. Under the English statute there were one hundred and fifty-

three days in the year when English citizens were required to abstain from flesh and eat fish, and as early as 1548 the first English statute which relates to the New World refers to the adventures and journeys of her fishermen into Iceland and Newfoundland, and "other places commodious for fishing and the getting of fish." Two hundred English ships went each year to the Grand Banks by 1600 and employed on board and on shore ten thousand men and boys.

The first English charter for American colonization was granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and in 1583 he entered the harbor of St. John and found there thirty-six vessels of different nations.

With the dawn of the seventeenth century the annual voyages were so regular that one fishing captain, it was said, had made forty consecutive trips. When we consider the imperfect methods of navigation, the size and rig of the little vessels, and the distance from home ports of the Grand Banks, it would seem that the en-

comiums which Burke paid to the hardy fishermen of New England in his speech on "Conciliation with America," apply with even greater force to those daring navigators of the sixteenth century. The controversies over the rights of the fisheries and fishing grounds were between France and England, for Spain made no claim to exclusive rights. The claim of England to these shores rested on the discovery by Cabot and the occupation by Gilbert.

May I briefly recall some of the first attempts of exploration and colonization? In 1506 Jean Deys, of the port of Harfleur, published a map of this recently discovered coast, and two years later Thomas Aubert, a pilot sailing from the port of Dieppe, on his return brought with him to France an Indian captive, the first visitor from the New World to the Old.

The early French attempts to form settlements in Canada were unsuccessful. Jaques Cartier had discovered and explored the Bay of Chaleurs as early as

1534, and in the following year he sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as the Saguenay River, to an island where he spent the winter, and the next spring continued his voyage up the St. Lawrence to the present site of Montreal. The severity of the climate was fatal to many of his company and he returned to France to renew the attempt again to form a colony in Canada in 1541, and again to meet with disappointment and failure.

Ribaut's expedition was equally unsuccessful. He built a fort near the spot where Charleston is situated, but famine and disease swept through the little settlements and the few survivors escaped with difficulty.

The expeditions of René de Laudonnière and De Gourgues to Florida were as unsuccessful as their predecessors. The Spaniards, if not more enterprising, were more successful than the French explorers, in the extent of their explorations. Ayllon planted a colony in 1526 on the Atlantic coast north of Hatteras, possibly

on the site of the English settlement nearly a hundred years before Jamestown, only to perish without leaving any trace of its struggle and failure.

De Soto had landed in Florida in 1539, penetrated through the interior to the Mississippi River, explored the river as far north as New Madrid, and paid the penalty of his daring and his enterprise with his death, and is buried in the channel of the river whose waters have never given up the secret of his burial-place.

Pedro Menendez de Aviles, whom Channing has well described as the "bloodiest Spaniard who has ever cursed the American soil — and one of the ablest," in 1565 lands in Florida, brutally destroys the French settlements, and plants the first permanent settlement in the New World.

Perhaps the most picturesque and striking adventure of the sixteenth century was the extraordinary march of three of the members of the company of John Hawkins, who sailed in October, 1567, on

his third voyage to the New World. His fleet consisted of five vessels, three of which were lost in his great fight with the Spaniards in September, 1568, at Vera Cruz. Somewhere to the northward of what is now the Bay of Tampico in Mexico, in the October following the fight at Vera Cruz, he set ashore one hundred and fourteen of his ship's company. Three of these, whose names should not be forgotten, David Ingram, Richard Browne, and Richard Twide, marched northward through the unknown and pathless forests, and at last, after nearly twelve months of laborious journey, reached the Atlantic coast, south of Cape Breton, where they found a French ship, which returned them in safety to their English homes. Perhaps the names of those dauntless three are still as worthy of preservation as the names of those who fell on the English side at Agincourt —

"Edward, the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk,
Sir Richard Keltey, Davy Ham, Esquire,
None else of name."

The English expeditions to the New World in the sixteenth century were as fruitless of permanent settlement as the French. Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 sailed with seven ships on his voyage to the west and northwest of America. The expedition reached Newfoundland, possession was taken in the name and right of England, and Gilbert sailed for home on a little ship of ten tons, called the "Squirrel," and was lost on the passage. If the result of the adventure was not important, yet he at least left behind him the memory of a gallant deed and words of courage and of faith which may well have been an inspiration to the adventurous seamen who followed.

"He sat upon the deck,
The Book was in his hand,
'Do not fear, Heaven is as near,'
He said, 'by water as by land!'"

The expeditions of Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Richard Grenville, of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, contributed information as to the coast-line south of the

Chesapeake, but their attempts at Roanoke Island and elsewhere were as fruitless as those which had preceded them.

It is interesting to note what an impression of accomplishment and success these early voyages of exploration and discovery had made upon the minds of the dauntless navigators of that period. The spirit which inspired Sir Martin Frobisher as early as 1576, in his search for the northwest passage, to sail the uncharted seas, was because he knew "this to be the only thing in the world that was left yet undone, where a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate." The sixteenth century closed with no permament settlement as yet established north of Florida.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz and the defeat of the Armada in 1588 secured the early settlements of the seventeenth century against Spanish attack, and yet the apprehension of peril from the Spaniards lingered for many years, and was a factor in determining

their location. The general instruction given to the first expeditions of the seventeenth century was to find a location in the New World up some river, at some distance from the seacoast, so that there would be less danger from and more security against the Spaniards.

One consideration which deterred the Pilgrim Company from settlement in Guiana was that "if they should there live and did well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long, but would displant or overthrow them, as he did the French in Florida; who were seated further from his richest countries." William Wood, writing as late as 1634, referring to the apprehension of Spanish attack and the reasons why it should not deter the plantations along the New England coast at least, says:

> Some say the Spaniard layes claime to the whole country, being the first discoverer hereof, and that he may make invasion upon those parts as well as he hath done upon S. Christophers, and S. Martins, and those places; but it doth not follow that because he

tooke such places as lay just in his way to the West Indies, that he should come thousands of miles with a great Navie to plantations, as yet not worth the pillage: and when the plantations are growne noted in the eyes of the common foes for wealth, it is hoped that when the Bees have Honie in their Hives, they will have stings in their tailes.[1]

In the settlements which marked the beginning of the seventeenth century two material factors must be considered: first, the grounds upon which the colonists based their right and title to their possessions in the New World; and second, that other factor which contributed so much to the result; namely, the early and successful adventures were under the management and control of chartered companies who brought to the solution of the problems, which had so often resulted in the destruction of the infant colonies of the preceding century, business experience and enterprise, initiative and ample means.

The title which the settlers acquired in the New World was based upon one or

[1] *New England's Prospect*, p. 57.

more of these five grounds: first, prescription or discovery; second, possession and occupancy; third, purchase; fourth, treaty stipulations; and fifth, conquest.

At the outset the title of Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, and England to the New World rested upon the right of discovery. This principle of law, generally adopted by all European nations in case of a conflict of title, involved the determination as to whether the flag of the claimant country flew at the masthead of the first discoverer. If it were conceded at first that a nation could acquire title in some little island because a navigator sailing under the King's commission had landed there and planted his country's flag, it could not long be conceded that a mere landing and nothing more gave title to the whole of the New World.

The English claim was based upon the discovery by Cabot and the alleged fact that he had coasted the shores of the New World from the place of his landfall as far south as Virginia. The next step was to

assert and maintain the proposition that the title by discovery must be consummated by actual settlement and possession. If it were conceded that the Indians had title to the soil by virtue of aboriginal occupancy and possession, such use and occupancy must have been actual and not merely desultory or constructive. The Indian title to the soil was acquired by the Pilgrim Company not only under the patent defining their territorial limits, but also by purchase from the aboriginal proprietors.

The seventeenth century in American history is the century of occupation, not merely of discovery, the century of exploration of the interior and not of the coast alone; the century of permanent settlement and colonization; the century of realization and not of hopes frustrated and ambitions defeated and dreams unfulfilled.

Under the charter of 1606 which King James gave to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates and under which the first permanent English settlement was made, the

territories granted lay between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and were subject to the limitation "not then possessed by any other Christian prince or people." But in fact the English title to a large part of North America, if claimed to be based on discovery or occupation, was finally settled by the sword.

The grantees named in this charter of 1606 to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates were divided under its terms into two colonies and companies. The first, the London or Southern Company, was granted authority to locate its plantation in some fit and convenient place between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude, and when so located the charter granted them fifty miles north and fifty miles south of such location, as well as one hundred miles into the sea and one hundred miles into the land. The second, or Northern or Plymouth Company, composed of citizens of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, was granted per-

mission to locate its plantation between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, with the same territorial extent. The grants were made subject to the condition that colonies should not be planted within a hundred miles of each other. Each colony had a council and over both was the council called the Council of Virginia, established in London.

In that charter were two provisions which were of vital influence in the development of the new settlements which later were to be established by these two companies. The first was that the inhabitants and their children born in these new plantations or settlements were to have and enjoy all "Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities as if they had been abiding and born within the English realm." And second, the provision that the lands granted were to be "holden of Us, our Heirs and Successors, as of our Manour of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only and not in Capite."

The charter granted to the Northern Virginia Company in November, 1620, and under which the patent of 1620 and the Bradford patent of 1629 were issued, out of special precaution added to the words "in Capite" the words "nor by knights service." These two provisions, often overlooked in the story of New England plantations and development, deserve some analysis and explanation. Before the settlement at Plymouth it was, of course, certain that the English settlers in this New World would bring with them not only the language, manners, customs, traditions, and history of England, but it was also determined that they would bring with them its statutes and common law, and the rights, privileges, and liberties of Englishmen, and the protection of the English flag. The tenure and descent of lands was also fixed and the effect of these provisions in the development of the English settlements at Plymouth and elsewhere cannot be disregarded nor overestimated.

The phrase "free and common socage" describes the tenure by which a man holds his estate in lands. As defined in the charter, it is not *in capite* or by knight's service, but by a tenure free from any personal or military service. By the later statute of 12 Charles II, c. 24, the tenure by knight's service was abolished and all the lands were declared to be henceforth held "in free and common socage." The tenure *in capite* was where the holding was of the person of the King, and the tenure by knight's service was military in its character, required the possession of a certain quantity of land, and compelled the owner to attend his lord to wars forty days in every year, if called upon.

> This statute of Charles II [says Blackstone] was a greater acquisition to the civil property of the kingdom than even Magna Charta itself, since that only pruned the luxuriances which had grown out of military tenures, and thereby preserved them in vigor. But the statute of King Charles extirpated the whole and demolished both root and branch.

The practical effect in the New World

then was that they acquired a freehold estate upon which there was no obligation for service, and the only limitation was the fifth of all ores which might be found in the mines on their property.

The other definitive term, "as of the manour of East Greenwich in our County of Kent," created a tenure in gavelkind peculiar to the county of Kent; of its distinguishing properties the principal one is that under that tenure "the lands descend not to the eldest, or any one son only, but to the sons together. Gavelkind, give all kynd; that is, to all the male children." [1] Whether that privilege was granted to the men of Kent because of their determined resistance, or because of their ready submission to William the Conqueror, or whether "it carry an Antiquity far greater than the time of the Norman Conquest," as Somner thought, is of course not here material. It was a form of tenure then for the yeomanry and not for the nobility; this abolition of primogeniture, this di-

[1] Somner, *Treatise on Gavelkind*, 1660.

visible inheritance made impossible a feudal system here.

The provisions of the Colony Law of 1633, reënacted in 1658, provided "that inheritance do descend according to the commendable custome of Engl. and hold of Est. Greenwich." But under the General Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth, revised and established in 1671, it was enacted that

> Whatsoever lands have or shall be granted by the court to the respective townships or to any particular persons, either by the court or particular townships, shall be held to them, their heirs, successors and assigns forever, according to the most free tenor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, in the realm of England, granted unto us in our charter and patent and our inheritances to descend according to the tenure thereof.[1]

And under the General Laws of 1671 (p. 299), it was provided that

> all the Sons of any persons having lands in fee simple shall be Heirs, . . . the Eldest Son shall have double to any of his Brethren, and all the younger equal Shares of the Land of

[1] *Colony Laws*, p. 279.

their Ancestors, and when there is but one son, he shall be sole heir . . . and where there is no son, all the daughters shall inherit alike.

Now that modification of the law of gavelkind, and of the manor of East Greenwich, you will find the reason for in Deuteronomy xxi, 17:

If a man have more sons than one, the eldest shall have a double portion assigned him.

This establishment of freehold lands or lands held in fee simple, and its division among all the sons, was an efficient factor in securing the permanent settlement of the country by actual cultivators of the soil.

In 1609 a new charter was given by the King to the Southern or First Colony, by which the King granted to the "Treasurer of Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia" the lands extending along the seacoast two hundred miles to the northward of Point Comfort and two hundred miles to the southward, and the islands lying within a hundred miles along said coast

and "up in to the land throughout from the sea west and northwest." In 1620 a charter was granted to the Duke of Lenox and others therein, called the "Plymouth Company," under which they took title to the land lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude.

Chief Justice Marshall, speaking for the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Johnson and Graham, Lessees, *vs.* MacIntosh,[1] refers and conforms his opinion to

> the principle which has been supposed to be recognized by all European governments from the first settlement of America — the absolute, ultimate title has been considered as acquired by discovery, subject only to the Indian title of occupancy, which title the discoverers possessed the exclusive right of acquiring.

Under the powers granted by the charters the grantees therein issued their patents to such grantees as they might select, by whom or their assigns the actual

[1] 8 Wheaton, p. 543.

occupancy of the patented territory might be reasonably expected, and the permanent settlements were based upon these chartered rights, so far as relate to the English occupation of the country.

It was reserved to the seventeenth century to witness the realization of the dreams of French and English discoverers and explorers to establish in the New World permanent colonies. It is material briefly to note here the establishment of the permanent French settlements along the banks of the St. Lawrence and the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and that of the Dutch at New Netherland.

In 1603 Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts, was named by the King of France Vice-Admiral of the coast of Arcady from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, and in the following year he was made the Lieutenant of the same territory. With the aid of the merchants of the seacoast towns of France, De Monts equipped three ships, and taking Champlain with him he sailed from Dieppe in

1603. The ships with De Monts and Champlain, upon their arrival in the Bay of Fundy, selected an island which it was thought was adapted for permanent settlement, the ships were unloaded and sent back to France, fort and houses built, and a permanent settlement effected. The tercentenary of the settlements of De Monts and Champlain was celebrated in 1904. The next three years Champlain was busily engaged in exploring the coast as far south as Cape Cod, and in 1607 returned with De Monts to France.

The settlement of New Netherland by the Dutch discoverers, industrious, frugal, brave men of whom it has been said "they also imported the lights of the Roman civil law and the purity of the Protestant faith," was brought later into close connection with the settlement at Plymouth.

In 1609, in a little vessel called the "Half Moon," manned by sixteen Englishmen and Hollanders, the Amsterdam directors sent Henry Hudson to the New World. Sailing from the Texel on the 6th

of April, he first reached Newfoundland, then Acadia, then, steering southwest, discovered Cape Cod, and followed the coast as far south as Cape Henlopen, then northward to the great river which he first discovered and explored, and which bears his name. It was not his happy fortune ever to return, either to the North or Hudson River, or to the coast of New England, for the next year he sailed to the bay and straits which bear his name in the Far North, a mutinous crew set him and five of his companions afloat in an open boat, and he was never heard of more.

Hudson's report was effective in inducing the Dutch merchants under authority of the States General to equip a ship, and in the year 1614 a small fort on an island in the North River was built and garrisoned, and the Dutch possession and occupancy began.

The Netherlands claim covered the territory from Delaware River to Cape Cod, including the island in Long Island Sound and along the coast, and extending

up the Hudson River as far as Albany, and up the Connecticut River to Fort Good Hope. The Dutch title to this territory, acquired by discovery, occupation, and purchase from the Indians, was prior and superior to that of the English as a matter of strict construction of then admitted principles, but the Netherlands lacked the adequate force to protect the rights of their settlers so obtained, and half a century later the Dutch were expelled by force from the territory which they had won and enjoyed.

It is necessary only to refer briefly to the Gosnold expedition of 1602 to Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Isles, and to the settlement at Sagadahoc. The Gosnold expedition sailed from Falmouth on March 26, 1602, in a small bark of Dartmouth called the "Concord," and consisted in all "of two and thirtie persons." Brereton in his relation, first published in 1602, thus simply describes the first recorded landing of Englishmen on the New England coast, "Capt. Bar-

tholomew Gosnold, myself and three others went ashore."

This first landing was made at Cape Cod, and because of the extraordinary abundance of fish in the vicinity the appropriate name "Cape Cod" was given to the cape, well known to early voyagers. This was the first time an English name was given to any part of New England, and from the same expedition we get the names of "Martha's Vineyard" and "Elizabeth Isles."

The Popham Colony at Sagadahoc had but a brief and unimportant existence. It sailed in June, 1607, and the little vessels returned in the following October and December to England, leaving behind them forty-four persons. The next year the ship from England brought the news of the death of Sir John Popham, late Chief Justice and foremost patron of this unsuccessful expedition, and the settlement was finally abandoned. "There were," says Gorges, "no more speeches by the northern company of settling any other

plantation in those parts for a long time after." It is recalled merely as one of the steps in the forward movement of emigration and settlement of the New World.

The Jamestown settlement in 1607 was by the authority and under the control and direction of that first or Southern or London Company, organized under the charter of James I, dated April 10, 1606. It may be proper, perhaps, in this connection to note some points of resemblance and difference which it presents in comparison with the settlement of that Pilgrim Company which, nearly fourteen years later, left England under the same authority and the same charter.

The total tonnage of the three little ships which left England on January 1, 1607, for the Chesapeake was less than the tonnage of the "Mayflower" alone. The "Susan Constant" was of the burden of a hundred tons, the "Godspeed," forty tons, and the "Discovery" had a tonnage of only twenty tons, making a total tonnage of one hundred and sixty, as compared

with the "Mayflower's" one hundred and eighty tons. The number of passengers on the three ships was substantially the same as that of the Mayflower Company, one hundred and five Jamestown colonists and one hundred and two Plymouth colonists. But there was an important difference between these two companies; neither wife nor mother was a passenger on the Jamestown ships, while the Mayflower Company was in effect the migration of families, the removal of homes, and "their hearths as well as their altars went with them on the voyage."

The losses of the settlers of Virginia were far in excess of those sustained by the English settlements in New England. Famine, pestilence, and Indian massacre took a heavy toll of life from those early voyagers. Within four months from the landing at Jamestown nearly half of the total number had perished by disease or Indian attack. The winter's storms at Plymouth were more merciful than the summer's heat in Jamestown, for in the

four months from the landing at Plymouth only forty-four had died. Before the first year had passed the number of Jamestown settlers had been reduced to forty. The mortality of the Virginia colonists, as stated by Dr. Tyler, was extraordinary. Out of a total of fourteen thousand emigrants from 1607 to 1622, only nine hundred and eleven survived at the close of the year 1622. The estimates of Alexander Brown, and accepted by Dr. Channing, are much less extravagant and undoubtedly more accurate, but are singularly impressive as to the price paid for the freedom which the New World gave.

"From 1606 to 1625," says Brown, "5649 emigrants left England for Virginia, and in 1624 only 1095 were living." Out of twelve hundred emigrants who sailed from England in 1619 and the first three months in 1620, one thousand died on the voyage or after their arrival in the Virginia colonies. Although the Virginia colonists did not enjoy the right or privilege of electing their governors and their

form of government was in many respects much less democratic than that of Plymouth, it is a fact not to be forgotten that the first representative legislative assembly which ever met in America was convened on July 30, 1619, each of the eleven boroughs into which the Virginia colony was then divided being represented by two delegates.

Before the Pilgrims, then, had determined to seek a home in the New World, representative government, the great contribution to the science of government of the Anglo-Saxon race, was firmly established in that New World which now furnishes the best example of its possibilities for greatness and success.

When the attention of the members of Robinson's church in Leyden was directed towards establishing a home beyond the seas and to the means of accomplishing that undertaking, there were north of the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine only the English colony on the Chesapeake Bay and the James River; the Dutch trading-

post at Manhattan on the Hudson; and the French settlements on the St. Lawrence and the shores of the Bay of Fundy — the three strategic points on the Atlantic coast, not merely for their practical advantages of defense, but for their unlimited possibilities for the trade, commerce, and enterprise of the coming years and the future generations.

But at the time that the Pilgrims sailed from England there was no harbor, except at those three points, which had been so carefully explored, mapped, and sounded as the harbor at Plymouth. The ships of three nations, England, France, and Holland, between 1600 and 1620, had visited what is now Plymouth, and the maps or charts of the voyages and the relations of these expeditions, as told by the navigators and explorers, preserve that interesting part of America's history.

First in time was the expedition under command of Captain Martin Pring, who sailed from Bristol in June, 1603, with two barks, one of fifty tons called the "Speed-

well," with thirty men and boys; the other named the "Discoverer," of twenty-six tons, with thirteen men and boys. With him went as his assistant one Robert Salterne, who had been with Gosnold in his voyage to New England the year before, and to whom we are indebted for the description of the voyage. The story is told by Purchas in the fourth volume of his "Pilgrims." To the bay of Plymouth he gave the name of Whitson Bay, in honor of that John Whitson, then mayor of the city of Bristol, England, and one of the "Chiefe adventurers" and patrons of his expedition. He gives a full description of the natives and of the plants, trees, beasts, fowls, and fish which he found there. The wheat, barley, oats, and peas, and sundry sorts of garden seeds, though late, soon came up very well, "giving certain testimony of the goodness of the climate and of the soil." With the sassafras, which he describes as a plant of sovereign virtue and which was used as a febrifuge and as a specific in certain diseases, he

loaded his small bark and sent her home to England. Beasts and fowls were found in great number and variety, and "as the land is full of God's good blessings, so is the sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish."

One curious but unimportant fact seemed, to him at least, worthy of remembrance, that he had taken with him from Bristol two excellent mastiffs whose names even are preserved, "Foole" and "Gallant," great and fearful, "of whom the Indians were more afraid than of twenty of our men." The names of the dogs live, the names of heroes are forgotten.

In the twenty-second volume of Pieter van der Aa's Collection of Voyages published in Leyden in 1707, is given a picture of the barricade of Pring on the shore of Plymouth Bay, in which was kept diligent watch and ward for the "advertisement and succor of the men while they should work in the woods." The picture shows the wooded shores, the barricade

built of logs, with an entrance and what may be two kennels on either side for the two great mastiffs, some Indians armed with bow and arrow, others dancing, and in the forefront the figure of an Englishman with his musket on his left shoulder and carrying in his right hand the rest from which it was fired.

The next voyager to enter Plymouth Harbor, of whose expedition we have a full record, is that of Samuel de Champlain, who, on the 18th of July, 1605, entered the little bay, now known as "Plymouth Harbor." He says that some of the Indians "begged us to go to their river. We weighed anchor to do so, but were unable to enter on account of the small amount of water, it being low tide, and were accordingly obliged to anchor at the mouth." Champlain went ashore and made an examination of the river, which to him appeared only as an arm of water extending a short distance inland, and "running into this is merely a brook, not deep enough for boats except at full tide."

His reference here is possibly to the Town Brook, the entrance to which was at high tide a small harbor, used as late as the last century for the purpose of wintering small vessels, and where the traces of the wharves are still seen to which the revenue cutter was moored as late as the War of 1812. Champlain's map, which appeared in his edition of his voyages, published in 1613, shows the Gurnet as a wooded point at the entrance, and the two islands in the bay "which are not seen till one has entered, and around which it is almost entirely dry at low tide."

Slafter, in his edition of the "Voyages of Samuel de Champlain," published by the Prince Society says in a note at vol. II, page 78:

> This delineation removes all doubt as to the missing island in Plymouth harbor, and shows the incorrectness of the theory as to its being Saquish Head, suggested in a note in Young's Chronicles.

I cannot agree with Dr. Slafter's conclu-

sion, for it seems to me to be clear that the island is what is now known as Saquish, and which, within the recollection of men living in the last century, was at times of extreme high tide or storm an island, and around which in small sloops the fishermen and pilots of the bay had been able to sail. The theory that it was Saquish is also supported by other maps to which I shall hereafter refer. This harbor Champlain named the "Port du Cap St. Louis" and on the map is marked "Port St. Louis." If Champlain's map is accepted as an accurate description of the Plymouth Harbor at that time, it strongly supports the claim that Plymouth beach was formerly wooded, for the map shows trees upon what appears to be the beach.

But perhaps of more interest and importance in the accuracy of its description was the voyage of Adrian Block to Plymouth in the spring of 1614. The Dutch at Manhattan had built their first ship. They had fitly named it the "Onrust," or the "Restless," and had entrusted its first

voyage to the experience and skill of Adrian Block as its sailing master. This little vessel was forty-four and one half feet long, eleven and one half feet wide, and of about sixteen tons burden. It was not the first decked vessel built in the United States; that distinction belongs to the "Virginia" of Sagadahoc.

Block sailed along the shores of the Connecticut, passed the Vineyard and Nantucket, rounded the Cape, and dropped anchor in the harbor of Plymouth, which he called "Crane Bay," then sailed northerly by Foxhaven, now Boston, to Pye Bay, probably Nahant. In the archives at The Hague is a map called the "Figurative Map," prepared by Block, or from data furnished by him. It recognizes the French title above latitude 40° and the English below 45°, but to the territory between 40° and 45° the Dutch claim title and gave to it the name of "New Netherland." The harbor of Plymouth and the Town Brook are clearly shown, the position of the Gurnet well

marked. Two significant and interesting points are, first, two islands lying inside the Gurnet, one later known as "Clark's Island" where the Pilgrims passed the first Sunday; the other, what is now the promontory of Saquish, but which here appears as an island, confirming the description of Champlain and later authorities, and the statements of the old pilots that they could recall when at certain stages of the tide Saquish Point was surrounded by water. Secondly, the map shows clearly a channel making of Cape Cod an island and following generally the line of the present Cape Cod Canal. Probably Block did not sail up the creek or river to which Bradford refers when he writes of Manomet:

> Standing on the sea to the southward of them, in to which by another creek on this side they would carry their goods and then transport them over land to their vessel, and so avoid the compassing of Cape Cod and those dangerous shoals.

Block sailing along the shore to the south of the Cape and finding the mouth

of a river there, and then passing along the interior or northern line of the Cape and noting another river or creek extending into the land, might naturally infer that there was a channel or river from Cape Cod Bay to Buzzard's Bay, and that the Cape was an island. On a map of New England by John Seller, hydrographer to the King, believed to be printed about 1675, there appears the name of "Crane Bay," and in the map by Pieter van der Aa of New England, as described by Smith in the two voyages made by him in 1614 and 1615, and published about 1707, we also find the names "Crane Bay" and "Plymouth" given as "Patuxet als New Plymouth." In a map of the coast of New England, printed probably about 1721, at or near Nauset Bar there is a break through Cape Cod, giving to the end of the Cape the appearance of an island.

In the month of April, 1614, Captain John Smith sailed from London with two ships to America. The purpose of the expedition was in part to engage in the

whale fishery and also to search for mines of gold and copper. They were unsuccessful in securing the purposes of the voyage, and leaving the ships to be employed in the cod fishery, Smith with eight others ranged the coast in a small boat. His description of New England, printed in 1616, makes this reference to Plymouth:

> Then come you to Accomack, an excellent good harbor, good land; and no want of any thing to industrious people. After much kindness upon a small occasion we fought also with 40 or 50 of those, (i.e. natives); though some were hurt and some slain, yet within an hour after they became friends.

In this account Smith gives the name "Accomack" to Plymouth, and in his map, before the changes made by Prince Charles, Plymouth was so named.

Upon his return to England he presented his account of the voyage with the map to Prince Charles, later Charles I of England, asking His Highness to be pleased to change "their barbarous names for such English as posterity might say Prince Charles was their god father." On

Smith's map Prince Charles, therefore, changed the name of "Cape Cod" to "Cape James," gave in place of the Indian name of "Accomack" the name of "Plymouth," and twenty-nine other places, which upon Smith's map appeared for the most part with their Indian names, Prince Charles renamed with English names. This map of Smith's gives no details of Plymouth Harbor other than its latitude and relative position upon the New England coast, and for that reason is less instructive and important than either the Champlain or Block map, where the coast-line, islands, points, and in the Champlain map the soundings, are clearly shown.

Smith's relation of his voyages to New England he caused to be printed to the number of two or three thousand, "One thousand with a great many maps both of Virginia and New England I presented to 30 of the chief companies in London at their Halls." His contributions to the knowledge and settlement of the New

World by reason of these voyages of exploration and discovery, and his full and complete accounts of the same, should preserve forever his name in grateful remembrance. His love for, and interest in, Virginia and New England is quaintly stated in a fine passage in which he says:

> By that acquaintance I haue with them, I call them my children; for they haue beene my Wife, my Hawks, Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall, my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand [is] to my right.

In his "True Travels, Adventures and Observations," which includes a continuation of his general history of Virginia, the Summer Isles, and New England from 1624 to 1629, and which was printed in 1630, he makes this reference to the Pilgrim settlement,[1] that in New England

> Nothing would be done for a plantation till about some hundred of your Brownists of England, Amsterdam and Leyden went to New Plymouth, whose humorous ignorances caused them for more than a year to endure a

[1] Arber, p. 892.

wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them than myselfe; many others have used the like good husbandry that have paid soundly in trying their self-willed conclusions.

The last voyage to Plymouth of which we have any record before the arrival of the Pilgrims was by Captain Thomas Dermer, who wrote an account of the voyage which is printed in the first volume of "Purchas's Pilgrims." In that description of his voyage along the coast of New England to Virginia, no definite reference to Plymouth is made. In "The Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England and of Sundry Accidents therein occurring, from the year of our Lord 1607 to this present 1622," dedicated by the President and Council of New England to the Prince's Highness, Dermer is reported as having said, after leaving his ship at Monhegan, that "he coasted the shore from thence, searching every harbor and compassing every cape land till he arrived in Virginia." And

Dermer was considered by the Council of Plymouth as the original discoverer of the coasts lying between the Hudson and the southern shore of Massachusetts on the route of Long Island Sound.

In the letter from Dermer to Samuel Purchas, from Captain Martin's plantation in Virginia, he says that on the 19th of May, 1619, in an open pinnace of five tons he passed along the coast and found "some ancient plantations not long since populous, now utterly void. In other places a remnant remains but not free of sickness." This disease he identifies as the plague, from his examination of the sores of some of the natives who had survived, and their description of the "spots of such as usually died."

When he arrived at Patuxet or Plymouth, the native country of the savage who accompanied him as guide and interpreter, there was no remnant left of the native tribe. He then traveled westward from Plymouth about a day's journey to what is now Middleborough, and from

there sent a messenger to Sowams, which the Rhode Island Historical Society has identified as near the railroad station of Hampden Meadows. The two native kings, probably Massasoit and his brother Quadaguina, returned with the messenger, and in the conference which followed "my savage and I discoursed unto them, being desirous of noveltie, and they gave me content in whatsoever I demanded." On this expedition he redeemed two Frenchmen who three years before had been wrecked on Cape Cod. The purpose of his expedition accomplished, he sails from Plymouth, around the Cape, through Long Island Sound, to Virginia.

It is one of the striking circumstances connected with the settlement at Plymouth that this was the place selected by the last voyager along the coast as the best locality for a permanent English settlement. Gorges says that Dermer sent him a "journal of his proceeding with the description of the coast all along as he passed," and in that relation he writes:

I will first begin with that place from whence Squanto or Tisquantum was taken away, which on Captain Smith's map is called Plymouth. . . . I would that the first plantation might here be seated if there come to the number of fifty persons or upwards.

The Indian who accompanied Dermer on this expedition has an interesting history and to him the Pilgrim Company later owed a debt which can hardly be estimated. His name is variously given as "Tisquantum" or "Squanto," and he is thought to have been the Indian whom Gorges refers to as "Tasquantum," who returned with Captain Weymouth to London in 1605 and there lived for three years.

Tisquantum, or Squanto, as Bradford calls him, and whom he describes as "a native of this place, who had been in England and could speak better English than Samoset," was one of the Indians referred to in Smith's account of his first voyage to New England in 1614 with two ships. Smith says that he returned to England in the bark within six months after his departure with a lot of furs, train oils, and

fish, leaving the other ship to fit for Spain with dry fish, but that the master, one Thomas Hunt, "betrayed four and twenty of the savages aboard his ship and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their kind usage of me and all our men, carried them to Malago and there, for a little private gain, sold those silly saluages for Rials of Eight: but this vile act kept him ever after from any more employment in those parts."

Rescued from slavery in Spain by some kindly priests, Squanto was sent to England and while there lived with the governor of the Newfoundland company, who also held the office of treasurer, a merchant by the name of John Slanie, who lived in Cornhill. During Dermer's visit to Newfoundland during the years 1616–18, he saw Tisquantum. From Newfoundland Dermer returned to England and was again sent to Newfoundland on a fishing voyage. From Newfoundland he starts for Virginia, taking with him Squanto, making the stop at Patuxet,

which has been above described, and leaving there Squanto, the last survivor of that tribe which had roamed the woods, tilled the fields, fished the streams, camped upon the shore, loved, feasted, fought, and died, alone with the empty wigwams, the untilled fields, and the unmarked graves of his people, and there he waits the arrival of the Pilgrims.

Tell me, man of military science, tell me, student of the voyages of the navigators, explorers, and discoverers of the New World, where on that wide-flung seacoast-line along the Atlantic could a little band of Englishmen in December, 1620, have found another harbor where during the twenty years before their landing the ships of three nations had anchored, and the Cross of St. George, the white flag of France, the orange, white, and blue flag of Holland, had been planted on its encircling shores, or where the coast-line had been so carefully skirted, the harbor so thoroughly mapped and chartered, sounded and named, as in that sheltered

bay of Plymouth? Where else lay the waiting fields once cultivated, now deserted by the aboriginal proprietors? Where else in safety could the simple homes of the new settlers have been erected, where the Indian tribe which once lived there had been removed by pestilence, and only a single survivor of the tribe remained, than on that shore where the Rock lay waiting for Pilgrim feet to press and make immortal? And where else from Labrador to the Gulf could that little company of Englishmen have found a friendly Indian, the last survivor of his tribe, who had lived in London for many a weary month, had passed a lonely figure up and down its busy streets and grown familiar with the English language and English life and customs, to become their guide, interpreter, and friend, alike familiar with his native land and theirs, ready and equipped to show them the way to escape alike the perils of famine and of the savage foe, and give them his rights to those fields and homes?

Whether you call it a coincidence merely, or whether you regard it, as the pious annalist did, a marvelous interposition of a wonder-working Providence, the happy presence of that friendly Indian in their new home is one of the most remarkable events in human history.

This was Plymouth before the Pilgrims: which they were hereafter to hold, with all the rights, privileges, and immunities of Englishmen under a title not only the broadest known to the English law, but also, in a special way for them, the most fortunate and the most useful.

"Here on its Rock, and on its sterile soil,
Began the kingdom not of kings but men;
Began the making of the world again."

II

THE PILGRIMS BEFORE PLYMOUTH

I HAVE considered in the former lecture those early voyages of exploration and discovery which antedated or determined the fitness of Plymouth as a place for the settlement of an English colony on the Atlantic coast, and also some of the influences, political and geographical, which had fixed the prior settlements under the English, Dutch, and French flags at the three strategic points for colonization in the New World north of Florida, and I propose now to present some of the social and economic considerations and religious influences which inspired, shaped, and directed the Pilgrim migration.

That religious movement in England to which has been given different names by its friends and its enemies, but which more accurately may be defined as the Independent Movement, and which profoundly influenced the Pilgrims of

Scrooby, Leyden, and Plymouth, came as a natural and almost inevitable result from the translation of the Bible into English and its publication for general circulation in that language.

The great body of the English Bible was given to the English nation by Tyndale in manuscript, and the Genevan Bible, which the Pilgrims used, published in 1557–60, is the publication of the translations of William Tyndale and Myles Coverdale, first printed under the name of the "Matthews Bible" in 1537. Erasmus (1467–1536), learned and tolerant, to whom Tyndale looked not only as a true reformer, but also as the great light and guide of the age, was the first to give expression to the hope that the Bible might be translated into the languages of all people, when he so finely said:

I wish the Gospels were translated into the languages of all people, that they might be read and known not only by the Scotch and Irish and the English, but even by the Turks and the Saracens. I wish that the husbandman might sing parts of them at his plough;

that the weaver might warble them at his shuttle; that the traveler may with their narration beguile the weariness of the way.

And Tyndale but followed in his footsteps when he said to a critic:

If God spare my life ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth a plough to know more of the Scriptures than thou dost.

The realization of his hopes or dreams made it necessary no longer to present the oracles of God in a dead language, and to make their interpretation the monopoly of a priestly class. But not all the advanced thinkers of the day went as far, for even Sir Thomas More, whose name his "Utopia" will always preserve, believed that the copies of the English Bible should be held at the discretion of the bishop, to be given only to those whom he should determine to be "honest, sad and virtuous."

But if the Bible itself ought not be given to the people for their reading and study, still less could the commentaries upon its text be printed without a license,

as many a publisher and even Brewster himself found to his cost. Those who believed that the Church should have a form of organization less formal and minute than in the then existing organization of the Church of England found in the texts in the Genevan version, and in its side notes, the authority for such officers as pastors or prophets, teachers, elders, deacons, widows or helpers,[1] and whose duties Robinson clearly defined.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the English people legally were all included within the bounds of the Church of England. Practically there were also in England those who still adhered to the Catholic faith of their fathers, and the Protestant Nonconformists, under the various names of Separatists, Independents, and Baptists. The statutes of England then provided for imprisonment without bail for those who obstinately refused to attend church service or advisedly persuaded others to forbear attendance, or

[1] Cor. XII, 28. 1 Tim. V, 17. Romans XII, 6–8.

to receive the Communion, or who were present at any unlawful assemblies or meetings under color of any exercises of religion contrary to the law and statutes, and imposed the further penalties that the convicted offender, if he did not conform and submit within three months, should depart from the realm, or if he refuse to do so or returned to the realm, should be deemed a felon, and the penalty was death without benefit of clergy.

The famous "Millenary Petition" of 1603, signed by seven hundred and fifty ministers, and representing the views of a thousand, expressed no dissatisfaction with the essential doctrines of the English Church, but only with certain of its rites and ceremonies, and asked that in the future the petitioners should not be required to subscribe except to the Thirty-Nine Articles and to the Act of Supremacy.

To prove that the enforcement of the English law bore harshly upon the nonconforming men and women holding the

ideas of church polity which the members of the Pilgrim Church adopted, there is no occasion to mention other cases than those cited by Bradford in his "Dialogue," where he enumerated six who were publicly executed besides such as died in prison, among them Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, and "many others who have been condemned and brought to the gallows, and have been reprieved and banished, some of whom we have known and often spoken with." He refers to four who in the year 1604 were forced to adjure the land by oath never to return, and to some seventeen or eighteen that had died in the London prisons prior to the year 1592, besides those who in other parts of the land have perished by cold, hunger, or "noisomnes of the prison," and also to the petition of sixty persons committed without bail to the prisons of London, and "what numbers since those who have been put into compulsory banishment and other hard sufferings as loss of goods, friends, and long and

hard imprisonments, under which many have died, it is so well known that it would make up a volume to rehearse them."

I refer to this persecution because of a suggestion in a recent book that the treatment of the Scrooby Congregation, as shown from the records of the Ecclesiastical Commission of the Province of York, was far from severe. But I think it will be found upon examination that the severity of the penalty for nonconformity and the reported cases where the severe penalty had been imposed, and also the fact that the little congregation which assembled in the Manor House in Scrooby were all liable to these penalties, when coupled with the suffering and distress which they endured in their efforts to leave England for Holland, abundantly justified the conclusion that it was due to persecution, suffered or feared, that they sought freedom to worship God in the freer air of Amsterdam and Leyden.

I need not repeat in detail the story so

admirably told by Bradford in his history of the meeting of the little company in the Manor House of the Bishop in Scrooby, where Brewster lived and held, until the last of September, 1607, the position of postmaster. It is obvious that these little villages of Scrooby and Austerfield could have furnished but a small part of the Pilgrim emigrants to Holland; in fact there are only two of the Pilgrim Company of whom it can be said with certainty that they came from either of those two towns, namely, Brewster of Scrooby, and Bradford of Austerfield, but the meeting-place was at Scrooby, and the people, as Bradford describes them, "were of sundry towns and villages, some of Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire." Morton in his "New England's Memorial" fixes the date of the organization of the Pilgrim Church at Scrooby in 1602, but it is probable that he must have referred to the organization of the church at Gainsborough, for the numerous references to the Pilgrim

Church by Bradford and Winslow, and the dates at which they fix the movement, show that it could not have been earlier than 1606, which date is the commonly accepted date of the beginning of this church.

Eight miles north from Scrooby is Babworth, where the Reverend Richard Clyfton, the Rector and later the Reformist minister, preached, and who was for a time to be an early leader in the Pilgrim Church and colleague with Robinson at Scrooby. Twelve miles east of Scrooby is Gainsborough where the Reverend John Smith came in 1606. Smith later became one of the Separatists or Brownist ministers in Amsterdam, and pressed to the extreme conclusion that tenet of Brownism that the Church of England was an utterly false and abominable church, and all its ordinances null and void, which divided the Separatists in Holland. He held that "the separation must ever go back to England or go forward to true Baptism. All that shall in time to come separate

from England must separate from the Baptism of England."

Clyfton and Smith, as well as Brewster and Robinson, were men who had been educated in the University at Cambridge, scholarly and pious leaders of this Independent Movement. They are sometimes spoken of as "Brownists," taking that name from Robert Browne, who also was a Cambridge man, and some time in the years between 1580–90 had been a preacher at Norwich. Browne's attacks on the bishops, his advocacy of the duty of separation from the Church of England, and of the right to organize these distinct congregations, had cost him dear. As he says, he had "been committed to 32 prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon day."

The term "Brownists" was always used by the opponents of the Pilgrim Church as a term of reproach, and the Pilgrims deeply resented its use for Browne was believed to have recanted the opinions which he had often so violently ex-

pressed by accepting a Church of England living in Northamptonshire and residing in the parsonage till his death in 1630.

The term "Separatists," as a descriptive word merely, is sufficiently accurate, but the true name, as I believe, for these independent congregational churches is "Independent." It is a curious fact that the word "Independent" is not found in the Bible nor in Shakespeare. It first appears as descriptive of a church as early as 1610 in a book which the Reverend Henry Jacob had published in Leyden, entitled "The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's True, Visible or Ministerial Church," where he says, "All which were so many proper and distinct churches in those times and independent one of another," and in a later work, published in 1611, he says, "Each congregation is an entire and independent body-politic, endued with power immediately under and from Christ."

Henry Jacob was a graduate of Oxford,

the minister for several years to the congregation at Middelburg, and spent a few months during 1610 in Leyden. In 1616 he returned to England and organized a church in Southwark, which is reputed to be the mother church of the Independent denomination. But the Baptist Church established by Thomas Helwys in London, on his return from Holland in 1613, was distinctly Independent in polity and prior in time. Apparently the word "Independent" was first used in Holland and the English Separatists in Holland worked out not only the theory and the form, but the term "Independent."

Robinson, in his "Apologia" (1619), at page 16, defines the true Church as "*tota, integra & perfecta Ecclesia, ex his partibus constans immediate & independenter.*" Perhaps the importance which Robinson attached to the term "Independent" is best illustrated by the fact that as there was no Latin word even for "independent," he coined the word "*independenter*"

for the first edition of his "Apology" which was written and printed in Latin. The whole sentence in the English edition (1625), is as follows:

> Neither was Peter or Paul more one, whole, entire, and perfect man, consisting of their parts essential and integral, without relation unto other men, than is a particular congregation, rightly instituted and ordered, a whole, entire, and perfect church immediately and independently, in respect of other churches, under Christ alone.

A learned student of New England's history wrote me some years ago, "I know of no nobler sentence in literature or law." John Robinson must be recognized as the true founder of Independency or Congregationalism. The basis of the Pilgrim Church in Leyden and Plymouth was the principles and polity of which Robinson was the most eminent, the best known, and the ablest exponent. His views as expressed in his later writings were adopted as the unquestioned polity of that church which claims him as its religious teacher, preacher, and leader.

The translation of the Bible into our English tongue, as has been said,

> opened to one and all, simple and great, poor and rich, learned and ignorant, the treasure house of the Divine wisdom: it gave to each in the daily round of labor and care, as well as in the supreme and testing moments of life, an equal and unstinted share in the teachings which inspire, the consolations which soothe, the faith which can move mountains, the hope which endures to the end.

It was an inevitable conclusion from that movement which placed the Bible in the hands of English-speaking men and women, whose duty and faith required them to "search the Scriptures," and who believed with Robinson that there was more Truth and Light yet to come out of His Holy Word, that the Protestants would divide into sects, by reason of the special emphasis which each leader might place on some text in the Bible. An independent church was the necessary result. "The foundation of our New England Plantations," says Winslow, "was not laid upon Schisme, division or

Separation, but upon love, peace and holiness."

Their faith was not negative, and did not consist in the condemning of others, but in the edifying of themselves; they did not require of any of their members "in the confession of their faith that they either renounce or in one word contest with the Church of England, whatsoever the world clamours of us this way. Our faith is founded upon the writings of the prophets and apostles in which no mention of the Church of England is made." [1] Upon this deep foundation they built their independent church, with hope and confidence that the gates of Hell could not prevail against it.

It is undoubtedly true, as Winslow frankly confessed, that Robinson was "more rigid in his course and way at first than towards his latter end." In his farewell sermon to that little company of Pilgrims on their departure to begin the great work of Plantation in New England,

[1] *Works of John Johnson*, Ashton, vol. III, p. 63.

his breadth and liberality of vision were admirably and definitely shown, and his position and their duty clearly stated. He instructed and exhorted them, "If God should reveal anything to them [us] by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever they [we] were to receive any truth by his ministry." Again he reminded them of their Church Covenant, the basis of their Church Fellowship under and in accordance with which they covenanted with God and one another "to receive whatever light or truth shall be made known to them from his written Word." That written Word, illumined by the radiance of all that the past had brought, and to shine forth yet more clearly in the further light the future had in store, was their final authority and guide. To the leaders of the Pilgrims and those others at least of the Mayflower Company who had lived in Leyden and shared the teachings of their great preacher, teacher, and leader, the name of "Brownist" was a "nickname and brand

to make Religion and the possession of it odious."

To call them "Separatists" was an "aspersion"; their church was a "free corporation spiritual," and that way in which their feet were firmly planted was the Independent or Congregational way.

What in brief was the dogma, what the polity of this Pilgrim Church? Fortunately there is conclusive evidence on both of these points. William Perkins (1558–1602), a Cambridge graduate, a learned and scholarly divine, whose writings in Robinson's time were scarcely less authoritative than those of Hooker and Calvin, had gathered into six principles the foundation of the Christian Religion:

The | Foundation of | Christian Religion: | gathered into sixe | Principles

And it is to be learned of ignorant people, that they may be fit to heare Sermons with profit, and to receive the Lord's Supper with comfort.
Printed for J. L. and I. L. 1600.

Brewster's library of some four hundred volumes contained thirteen volumes of

Perkins's writings, more than of any other theologian. In the inventory of Brewster's library are named "two little chatachisms," which Dr. Dexter thought were probably the catechisms which John Robinson published at Leyden for the use of the Church, being an Appendix to Mr. Perkins's six principles of Christian religion. It is more probable I think that these catechisms were copies of that 16mo edition of Perkins's six principles, printed in 1606. These six principles as stated and explained by Perkins, are as follows:

1st. There is one God, Creator and Governour of all things, distinguished into the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy-Ghost.

2nd. All men are wholly corrupted with sin through Adams fall, and so are become slaves of Satan, and guilty of eternal damnation.

3rd. Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God, being made man, by his Death upon the Cross, and by his Righteousness hath perfectly, alone by himself, accomplished all things that are needful for the salvation of mankind.

4th. A man of a contrite and humble spirit, by faith alone apprehending and applying Christ with all his merits unto himself, is justified before God, and sanctified.

5th. Faith commeth only by the preaching of the Word, and increaseth dayly by it; as also by the administration of the Sacraments, and Prayer.

6th. All men shall rise again with their own bodies; to the last Judgment: which being ended, the godly shall possesse the Kingdome of Heaven; but Unbeleevers and Reporbates shall be in Hell tormented with the Devil and his Angels for ever.

They are the doctrine of the Trinity, the Fall of Man through Adam, Salvation by Jesus, Justification by Faith, Faith through the Preaching of the Word and by the sacraments and prayer, and Resurrection of the body, with heaven for the godly and hell for the unbelievers and reprobates.

Mr. Robinson's Appendix or Catechism contains forty-six questions and answers. The church is defined as —

A company of faithful and holy people, with their seed, called by the Word of God into

public covenant with Christ and amongst themselves, for mutual fellowship in the use of all the means of God's glory and their salvation.

And the only limitation of its number is that it shall not exceed such a number as may ordinarily meet together in one place for the worship of God. The present officers of ministry in the church are the pastor:

1. The pastor [exhorter], to whom is given the gift of wisdom for exhortation. 2. The teacher, to whom is given the gift of knowledge for doctrine. 3. The governing elder, who is to rule with diligence. 4. The deacon, who is to administer the holy treasure with simplicity. 5. The widow or deaconess, who is to attend the sick and impotent with compassion and cheerfulness.

And the church, being "a free corporation spiritual," is to choose her ministers and servants unto whom she is to give wages.

The outward works of the church are six in number, defined as:

1. Prayer. 2. The reading and opening of the Word. 3. The sacraments. 4. Singing of Psalms. 5. Censures. 6. Contribution to the necessities of the saints.

This was the Pilgrim's creed, this his simple form of church government and order.

The time came when, in the opinion of their wise leaders, it was necessary for the believers in independency to seek a secure refuge under another than the English flag. There were then in Holland in the city of Amsterdam the ancient English exile Church, a Scotch Presbyterian Church, and possibly the Gainsborough Church, which under the Reverend John Smith went to Holland about the same time as the Pilgrim Church. Both Smith and Robinson were at Amsterdam before the 17th of October, 1608, for they were described in Bishop Hall's Epistles as "the ring-leaders of the late separation" and at Amsterdam. At the time of the Pilgrim migration there was no Separatist church at Leyden.

These Nonconformists in the towns and villages of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire knew and appreciated the dangers which the exercise of their beliefs and the practice of their faith imposed

upon them. Prosecutions and persecutions some had known, and all had feared. Some by bitter experience learned the misery of an English prison, to others its hardships were an ever present danger, and yet under the provisions of existing law it was impossible for the family to migrate without a license from the authorities. To remain or to go was alike perilous and disastrous.

The first attempt was made to sail from Boston in a ship which they had hired for the purpose, but the master betrayed to the authorities their intended departure. They were seized, searched, stripped, and imprisoned. After a month had passed the greater part were dismissed, but seven, the principal men of the company, were kept in prison and bound over to the assizes, and among them William Brewster.

The next year, 1608, another attempt was made. Arrangements were concluded with the master of a Dutch ship to meet them at some port between Grimsby and Hull, where there was a large common, re-

mote from any town, and a convenient creek where the vessel could lie. Some of the party with the baggage sailed down the river Trent, which emptied into the sea at a distance of twenty-two miles from Hull, while the men walked across country to the agreed point of meeting. By the time the first boatload reached the ship, the whole country was raised and a company of horsemen and footmen, fully armed, were seen marching rapidly to intercept them. The prudent Dutchman weighed anchor, hoisted sail, and his vessel with only the first boat-load of emigrants soon disappeared below the horizon. It is a painful picture which Bradford graphically draws of the misery of the women and children who were left on the shore as the ship departed bearing the husbands and the fathers.

There seems to have been after that no united effort to get across to Holland, but, in spite of opposition and after great difficulties, all got over, some at one time and some at another; some in one place, and

some in another; all to meet again with no small rejoicing in their destined haven, the port of Amsterdam.

"Then twelve slow years in Holland — changing years —
Strange ways of life — strange voices in their ears;
The growing children learning foreign speech;
And growing, too, within the heart of each
A thought of further exile — of a home
In some far land — a home for life and death
By their hands built, in equity and faith."

But Amsterdam could not long remain their home. The dissensions in that English church into which they had been received as members, were too serious for them to cure by any means which they could use. In spite of the fact that a removal from Amsterdam would be greatly to the prejudice of their outward estates, both in the present and as it proved in the years which followed, they decided to find a refuge and home in Leyden. And fearing "that the flames of contention were likely to break out in the ancient church" in Amsterdam, Robinson and some one hundred members, men and women, peti-

tioned the authorities of Leyden for permission to reside in Leyden, "to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades without being the burden in the least to any one." The magistrates reply, "that they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city: provided that such persons behave themselves and submit to the laws and ordinances," and assure the petitioners that their coming will be both "agreeable and welcome."

The Amsterdam Church before the division contained about three hundred communicants, and it is doubtful if the Leyden Church at its maximum exceeded that number. As a French chronicler describes it, Leyden, then a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants, was "one of the grandest, the comeliest and most charming cities in the world," and Polyander, the Professor of Sacred Theology in the University in Leyden during a part of the Pilgrims' stay there, says:

The Low Countries are the best part of Europe. Of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries Holland is the richest, the most flourishing, and the finest. The most beautiful and altogether charming city of Holland is Leyden.

From their arrival in 1609 in Leyden to their departure in 1620, the Pilgrims had their home in this "fair and beautiful city but made more famous by the universitie," and there they enjoyed "a competent and comfortable living" as Bradford describes it, "but with hard and continual labore."

Brewster became a teacher and printer, Robinson entered the university as a student of theology, and was a frequent disputant in the public debates as a champion of Calvinism against the errors of Arminianism, in addition to his duties as their pastor and his labors as a controversial writer. The other members of the Pilgrim Company in many different, gainful, but humble occupations were soon engaged, and the years passed peacefully.

The debt which the Pilgrims (and this

nation which they helped to found) owed to Holland can scarcely be overestimated. They had seen in Holland a system of free public schools, supported at the public expense, and the result was a land "where every child went to school, where almost every inhabitant could read and write, where even the middle classes were proficient in mathematics and the classics, and could speak two or more languages," if we may accept the authority of Motley.[1]

There was no denial there of the liberty of the press, and no occasion for a Milton to plead for an unlicensed press. The right to print subject only to hazard and penalty as John Milton carefully defines it, which England denied, Holland granted, and Brewster printed without the necessity of first submitting his manuscript to either prelate or censor.

The foremost university of Europe was in full view of their simple dwellings in Clock Street or Bell Alley. The propriety and convenience of a civil marriage cere-

[1] *United Netherlands*, IV, 432; Campbell, II, 342.

mony they had learnt by actual experience in Holland, and its practice by Winslow in New Plymouth was to cost him later seventeen weeks' imprisonment in the Fleet Prison under the illiberal requirements of the English law.

With the advantages of registry in a public office of all deeds and mortgages, to which has been attributed in part the commercial prosperity of the Dutch, they were familiar by actual experience in Leyden. They had also observed the use of public records in political and religious organizations, for in addition to the important records for mortgages and transfer of lands, there were twenty other kinds of public records kept in Leyden. Besides this indebtedness to the Dutch which their life in Holland had brought them, there is another fact worthy of notice, that even in the New World the Dutch sagacity and experience were helpful. The use of wampum as a currency in trading with the Indian the Pilgrim learned from the Dutch at Manhattan.

Neither the planters at Plymouth nor the English in any other plantation in the New World so "much as knew what it was until they had knowledge of it from the Dutch and much less that it was a commodity of worth and value." When its use at the trading-posts became established, it proved a current commodity which greatly facilitated that Indian trade upon which they depended for the furs and skins, and upon which they relied for exports to England.

But above all and more than all, they had found in Holland that "freedom of Religion for all men" which they sought and for which they had left their English homes. As the slow years passed there were many factors which contributed to influence the members of the Leyden Church to consider seriously the question of a removal from Holland and which finally determined their policy of migration.

The Treaty of Antwerp, which defined the relations between Spain and the

Netherlands, provided for a truce of twelve years and was soon to expire by limitation. The future was dark and uncertain. If war were again to break out, their situation would be critical and dangerous, and already there was a beating of drums in the streets and the preparations for war had begun. The passing years had reduced their numbers by death and removal and few were found to take the places of those who had withdrawn their membership or died. Some preferred even an English prison to liberty in Holland with the afflictions which bore heavily upon them. The aged saw old age stealing upon them with no prospect of relief from their heavy burdens. The young men were becoming soldiers or sailors or were drawn into dangerous courses, undisciplined and unrestrained by family ties, and their habits were becoming corrupt and their character degenerate. They longed for the protection of the English flag; they were losing the English language and the English name,

and they missed for their children the education which they had received in their English homes.

"Above all other lands on earth
They loved the Land that gave them birth.
Its seagirt coasts, its downs,
Its hamlets and its towns.
The green fields where their children played,
The churchyards where their sires were laid.

"They loved their England, what was best
In her they loved, but not the rest;
Her State that made her great
But not her Church in State."

And lastly, they "were inspired with a great hope and inward zeal," as Bradford says, "for the propagation of the Gospel in the remote parts of the world, a mighty work in which they might be the stepping-stones for those who might follow in the paths where they had led." These considerations were not only persuasive, but conclusive. The Dutch had welcomed them, approved them, and sought to persuade them to remain as citizens of the Netherlands. "These English," said

the magistrates of Leyden, "have lived amongst us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of them."

The Dutch made two offers to the members of this Pilgrim Church, one, to remain and settle in the Province of Zealand; the other, free transportation to the Hudson River with cattle and other supplies for each family.

The directors of the Netherlands Company petitioned the Prince of Orange, in February, 1620, to take under the protection of Holland "a certain English preacher residing in Leyden who is well inclined to proceed thither [New Netherland] to live," and who has assured the petitioners that "he has the means of inducing over 400 families to accompany him thither, both out of this country and England." The directors also called attention to the evident policy of England to settle the territory in America between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, then claimed by the Dutch as the

New Netherland, whose title rested on prior discovery and occupation, and declared that the English purpose was to dispossess by force the State of the Netherlands of its right therein.

They asked that in view of the importance of the country that two ships should be dispatched to secure it against the English and protect the Dutch ships already there. That application was rejected by the States General for reasons which can only be conjectured, as they are not set forth in the reply.

Then they considered a removal to Guiana, alleging that that country was rich and fruitful and blessed with a perpetual spring where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance and plenty, without any great labor or art of man. To that course it was objected that even if the country yielded riches its climatic conditions were unsuitable to Englishmen, and more serious still was the proximity of the jealous Spaniard who would not suffer them to live there long.

And so Guiana as a place for their plantation was rejected.

The attention of the Pilgrims had evidently been directed to Guiana by reason of the voyages of Sir Walter Ralegh in 1595, the settlement of Captain Ley in 1605, and the explorations of Sir Thomas Roe, Captain William White, and others, and particularly the plantation undertaken by Captain Robert Harcourt in 1609, who obtained from Prince Henry a large patent "for all that coast called Guiana, together with the famous River of Amazones, to him and his heirs." "And the events relative to the New Netherland possessions in the Brazils and along the coast of Guiana are recorded by several historians in the Netherlands."

In 1617 Sir Walter Ralegh with many valiant soldiers and brave gentlemen made his last voyage to Guiana, and after his return to England he endeavored by his best abilities to interest his country and state in those fair regions. It is a curious fact that the very year in which

the Pilgrims sailed for the New World, Captain Robert North, with one hundred and twenty gentlemen and others, with a ship, a pinnace, and two shallops to remain in the country, set sail from Plymouth on the last of April, 1620, and within seven weeks after he arrived at the Amazon with the loss of only one old man. They sailed up the river one hundred leagues to settle the men, "where the sight of the country and people so contented them that never men thought themselves more happy," as the chronicler records it.

By this process of elimination of possible locations for a permanent home, it became clear that there was no place which met so many of their requirements as some part of Virginia. The decision having been made where they were to go, the next matter for debate was how they were to go. Authority and means were both necessary. The Crown charter of 1606 had given to the London Company the territorial and governmental rights in

the New World between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude, and to the Plymouth Company between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth, north latitude, and the rights and powers of the two companies thereby overlapped in that part of the grants between the thirty-eighth and forty-first degrees. This interlapping territory of three degrees included that tract of land bounded approximately on the coast-line on the north by the Hudson and on the south by the Potomac. Either colony had the right to plant there, subject only to the proviso in the charter that neither colony should make a plantation within one hundred miles of a prior plantation by the other.

If, then, the Pilgrims had in the first instance secured their patent from the second or Plymouth Company, as later they did, instead of the first or London Company, their landing either south of the Hudson, or at Cape Cod or Plymouth, would have been within the territorial limits of their patent and there would

have been no occasion for the Compact and therefore no Compact.

To secure the assent of the English Government to this adventure, some time in 1617 Robinson and Brewster, the religious leaders of the company and best fitted to express the religious convictions of the members of the church, sent a statement called the "Seven Articles" to England, a copy of which is still preserved in the Public Record Office, and which defines with some minuteness their attitude towards the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. This statement seems to occasion some embarrassment to the few historians who have commented upon it in their effort to explain its apparent inconsistency with the Pilgrims' doctrine and policy. It expresses in exact terms their assent to the Confession of Faith, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and to the authority and supremacy of the King in Church or State. This is in entire conformity with their expressed readiness to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and a con-

trolling factor in their decision to go to Virginia was that they might be within the limits of the English dominion and under an English king. But their acknowledgment of the authority of the present bishops in England, as set forth in the 5th Article, where they in terms state, "The authority of the present bishops in the land we do acknowledge so far forth as the same is indeed derived from His Majesty in them and as they proceed in his name," can best be reconciled with their theory of independency by adopting the distinction which they made between civil and spiritual authority.

It was, of course, to be expected that they would seek to minimize any differences, but the meaning which they gave to this recognition of the authority of the bishops had already been clearly stated by one no less independent than they. That distinction had been made in the formal confession of faith made in 1619 by that Independent Church in London, which in that year was established by

Henry Jacob on his return from Holland. That confession in terms states the policy of the Independent Congregation as: "We believe that we and all true, visible churches ought to be overseen and kept in good order and peace and ought to be governed under Christ both supremely and also subordinately by the civil magistrate, yes, in causes of religion when need is." Nor did Mr. Robinson deny that established churches were true churches, although he held that the errors and defects of that Church were sufficient to justify the formation of separate congregations. Thus, he writes: "I believe with my heart before God and profess with my tongue before the world, that I have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptism and Lord which I had in the Church of England and none other." And as has been before stated, it cannot be controverted that the influences under which Robinson lived in Holland had, as the years went by, contributed to a wider liberality in his views of and relations to that Church, which is

well illustrated by the fact, and it should not be forgotten, that Lyford, the first minister of the Plymouth Church, who was sent over by the merchant adventurers, was a Church of England man and yet accepted by the congregation without protest. Technically the little church which first gathered in the common house or fort, not only during the first year of the colony, but until the Revolution, was within the diocese of London as matter of law, and that fact was clearly stated in that comparatively recent decision by the Consistory Court of London upon the application for the return of the Bradford manuscript to America, in the opinion of the Chancellor, as follows:

> Up to the time of the Declaration of Independence, New England was for Ecclesiastical purposes in the Diocese of London . . . and the Bishops Registry being the only Public Registry for the custody of such documents (certificates of marriages, births and deaths) within the Diocese.

Through Sir Edwin Sandys (the brother of that Sir Samuel Sandys from

whom Brewster held the Manor House at Scrooby), who was a member of the Council of the Virginia Company and at some time its president and treasurer, they secured the coöperation of Sir Robert Naunton, the principal Secretary of State under King James, in an effort to persuade the King to formally permit them to live under his protection in America and enjoy liberty of conscience. The King asked the Secretary what the profits might be of such an adventure and the answer was "Fishing," to which the King replied, "So God have my soul! It is an honest trade, it was the Apostles' own calling." The King had his joke and showed to his satisfaction his learning and his wit, but refused to give his formal consent. He was ready to connive at them and agree not to molest them, but no official permission under his seal could issue, and they were referred to the Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury.

They did in this matter the sensible and practical thing, and made no application

to the ecclesiastical authorities, but contented themselves with the sane reflection that the word of the King was as good as the written grant under the royal seal, for, as they quaintly and accurately stated it, "though they had a seal as broad as the house floor, if he changed his mind, some way would be found to revoke the warrant."

In the name of John Wincop or Wincob, as Bradford spells it, in June, 1619, the London Virginia Company granted a patent and ordered that the seal should be annexed. Wincop, as the Company's record shows, intended to go in person to Virginia and there to plant himself and his associates. Wincop did not go and the patent was never used and is not known to be in existence. Possibly it was among the papers which were taken from the Fortune in January, 1622, by the French man-of-war and carried to the Isle de Dieu at the time when the Marquis de Cera, governor of the island, took away the goods of the vessel, and especially the let-

ter written by William Bradford, containing a general relation of matters in Plymouth, the latter a contribution to the history of Plymouth of prime importance, but all efforts for its recovery have proved unavailing.

The patent having been obtained, their efforts were redoubled to secure the necessary assistance to enable them to prosecute the voyage. For the requisite ships and supplies necessary to give any hope of success for this plantation the coöperation of those English merchants who might be ready to adventure in an undertaking like that proposed was essential. The details of the negotiations which the Pilgrims conducted through their representatives are not material to this inquiry, but it is important to note that the final terms, reluctantly agreed upon, made necessary a contract which seemed burdensome when made and which became more burdensome as the months went by in their homes along the first street in Plymouth.

This arrangement between the merchant adventurers and the Pilgrims is sometimes spoken of as a joint-stock company, but obviously that was not the form which the undertaking took, for there was neither a corporation, a seal, nor stock. I suppose the error grows from the misinterpretation of Bradford's expression that they put their money into the "common stock." The terms of the agreement show a relation more resembling a partnership and not at all unlike the later contracts for the prosecution of fishing voyages in New England, by which the men who furnished the vessel and the main supplies took one share of the catch, and the captain and the crew, in agreed proportion, the other share.

Under the arrangement it was provided that at the end of seven years the original investment and the profits of the adventure should be equally divided between the adventurers and the planters. Each planter above the age of sixteen had a single share and if he furnished money or

provisions to the amount of ten pounds, he was to receive two shares, and so on in that proportion. If the planter took with him his wife or children or servants, he was allowed for every person of the age of sixteen another share; if there were any between ten years of age and sixteen, he had a third share; and any child under the age of ten had no share in the division but was given fifty acres of unmanured land; and in addition to that all the planters, their wives and children and servants, were to have their meat, drink, apparel, and provisions out of the common fund. If the plantation was unsuccessful, the planters lost their time and money invested; the adventurers lost their investment. Its effect was to establish a community life in that new land to which they went, by reason of which, long before the seven years had terminated, there resulted embarrassments, serious, interesting, and significant, which must be more fully considered in the following lecture.

The negotiations were completed, the

smaller ship, the "Speedwell," was engaged to transport such members of the Leyden Company as were to engage in this plantation, from Delfthaven to Southampton, where they were to meet the "Mayflower" with those persons who were not members of the church at Leyden, but had been induced to leave their English homes to join in this adventurous undertaking.

One other problem waited solution and that was to determine who of the Leyden Church were to go and who were to remain. Obviously it was impossible for all the members of the church to go in the ships, and the supplies were inadequate even if they had been so inclined. When a minority of the members of the church decided to go, it was agreed that the pastor should remain and the elder, Brewster, should go as the religious teacher and leader. It was further determined that those who went should become an "absolute" or independent church, and those who remained should continue the existing organization.

The date, then, of the organization of the first church in Plymouth should properly be fixed as in the year 1620, and not in the year 1606, when the first members of the congregation assembled at Scrooby. In accordance with the congregational way, it was agreed, if any returned to Leyden or if any from Leyden thereafter went to America, no letters of dismissal or testimonial would be necessary to enable them to unite either with the church at Leyden or with the church in America.

On August 1, 1620, the Leyden members of the Pilgrim Company sailed on the "Speedwell" from Delfthaven for Southampton.

"And now with lingering long embrace,
With tears of love and partings fond,
They floated down the creeping Maas,
Along the Isle of Ysselmond.

"They passed the frowning towers of Briel,
The 'Hook of Holland's' shelf of sand
And grated soon with lifting keel,
The sullen shores of fatherland."

On the 15th of August, N.S., the "Mayflower" and "Speedwell" leave Southampton Water. Before they had passed out of the English Channel they were obliged to return to the sheltered harbor of Dartmouth for repairs to the "Speedwell." On September 2 they make a second departure, and when they had sailed a hundred leagues beyond Land's End, it was discovered that the "Speedwell" was leaking so badly that her pumps could barely free her. It seemed impossible then for the "Speedwell" to continue on the voyage and both ships were obliged to return. The disaster to the "Speedwell" is attributed to the deceit of the master and crew who plotted the stratagem of her unseaworthy condition to relieve themselves of the burden of the contract, which required them to stay a whole year in the new country.

Reaching Plymouth, England, it was necessary to reorganize the expedition. Those who were reluctant to sail remained, and the "Mayflower," with a full complement of crew and passengers,

sailed from Plymouth on the 16th of September, 1620.

"Then, the sea's wide blue! —
'They sailed,' writ one, 'and as they sailed they knew
That they were Pilgrims.'"

Nearly ten weeks passed before they came to anchor on the 21st of November in Cape Cod Bay, after a voyage of suffering and hardship, and attended with grave perils. One hundred and two passengers sailed on the "Mayflower" from Plymouth. On the voyage one of the company died, and a child, appropriately named Oceanus, was born, so that the same number of passengers were on board the "Mayflower" when she dropped anchor in Cape Cod Harbor.

Not all the passengers of the "Mayflower" were members of the Leyden Church. Only two are known to have lived in the little hamlets of Scrooby and Austerfield, and many another county than the three which Bradford named, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, or Yorkshire, had con-

tributed to the "Mayflower's" passenger list. The efforts of the merchant adventurers or agents, the thirst for adventure, and the love of gain had brought together in that solitary vessel many a stranger to the Leyden leaders. The protracted voyage had been severe and perilous, and grave difference of opinion arose among the mariners as to whether it were wiser to proceed or to return, as the ship, beaten about by fierce storms, ploughed its lonely way through the dreary and wind-swept Atlantic. Faction appeared; unity and concord were endangered. Here are mutterings of discontent, and there mutinous speeches from these strangers on board the ship.

When Cape Cod was sighted it was resolved to tack and stand for the southward, the wind and weather permitting, and to find some place about the Hudson River for their permanent habitation. But before the day was spent they found themselves in grave peril from dangerous shoals and roaring breakers. It was then

decided to bear up again for the Cape, and the next day their frail bark rode in safety within the sheltering arms of Cape Cod harbor.

The abandonment of their purpose to settle within the limits of their patent led to more open and positive declarations from the mutineers, that when the voyage had ended and a landing effected outside of the jurisdiction which their patent conferred, there would be no authority existing to restrain the liberty of any dissatisfied passenger, and it became evident that some practical means must be promptly adopted to maintain law, order, and discipline. So long as they remained on the ship the problem was not serious. Not only did the master of the ship have the right and authority to enforce discipline wherever necessary for the security of the vessel and the safety of the passengers, but also before they had left Southampton they had adopted a practical and effective organization.

They had already chosen a governor

and assistants to order the people by the way and see to the disposing of their provisions and such like affairs. Their purpose and their polity had been clearly defined in that striking letter from Robinson to the Pilgrim Company, which had been received at Southampton before they sailed and before they had made choice of Carver as the Governor of the "Mayflower" and Martin of the "Speedwell."

Now this letter from the great preacher and leader of the Pilgrims from his home in Leyden in terms stated that the Pilgrim Company were to become in the New World a body politic, using amongst themselves civil government, and contained the direction not only that in choosing into the office of government they should choose such persons as did entirely love and promote the common good, but also that they should yield unto those so chosen "all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations." This advice of Robinson was undoubtedly in conformity with the authority granted

by the formal letters patent issued by the Virginia Company in June, 1619, and sent to Holland for the consideration of the intending emigrants, and which defined the territorial limits of the proposed settlement to be south of the mouth of the Hudson.

It was clear that to them had come the opportunity and duty of organizing a body politic, establishing a civil government, adopting such laws and ordinances as to them seemed fit and necessary by the consent of the majority, and to be enforced by governors and other officers of their voluntary selection. The letter expressed the idea of civil liberty which Theodore Parker first clearly stated in the sentence, "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people," and which Lincoln made famous.

The idea, then, which lay at the basis of the Mayflower Compact, and which poets and painters, speculative historians and imaginative orators have assumed was first discovered in the cabin of the

"Mayflower" after she had reached the New World, was in reality an idea that was presented and considered and adopted before they had lost sight of the gray walls of Southampton, and before the difficulty which now confronted them had been anticipated. It is true that this idea of civil liberty and local self-government was the great conception which lay at the very basis of their undertaking, but it was expressed by Robinson in his letter and must have been found in the original patent itself.

The later patents of 1621 and 1629 in terms granted to them the right, by consent of the greater part, to establish such laws and ordinances as are for their better government, and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices select and choose to put in execution.

Having then adopted a polity, its form defined in letter and patent, what was the obvious thing for a company of sagacious Englishmen, wisely led, to do under existing conditions? Clearly, it seems to me, to

make an agreement which shall carry into effect the plan, and follow as nearly as may be the language of the instrument under which they had so far proceeded, and by which they agree to be bound by such laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, until a new patent could be secured.

And so they covenant and combine into a civil body politic, and there is not a vital word in the Compact which you will not find either in the letter of Robinson or the patent. And because they had already elected a governor by the most voices, they make no reference to that requirement in the Compact itself. It was a temporary expedient, adapted to and forced by the imperious necessities of the situation. It was an agreement, not a constitution, for a "constitution, in the American sense of the word," as Justice Miller defines it, "is a written instrument by which the fundamental powers of the

government are established, limited, and defined, and by which these powers are distributed among several departments for their more safe and useful exercise for the benefit of the body politic." If, therefore, they had landed within the limits of the first charter, near the mouth of the Hudson, and the necessity for the execution of the Compact had not arisen, there is no reason to suppose that their scheme of government, that the form of their body politic, or that the laws and ordinances which they enacted, would have been in any respect different, or that they would have been governed other than by officers and governors of their voluntary selection.

And now that they make their first landing in the harbor of Cape Cod, outside of the territorial limits of the patent, whose usefulness is at an end, the Compact to which they subscribe to meet the temporary emergency expresses in form and substance, in thought and in language, the plan of government set forth in

the letter of Robinson and the original patent itself.

In the spring the "Mayflower," but half manned, sails away with a Relation of their condition and needs. In November, 1621, the "Fortune" arrives, bringing a patent, from the Plymouth Company differing mainly from the first patent in its territorial grant. From the date of its arrival the settlers in the New World found in it the clear authority for the scheme of government adopted. It grants in terms the authority "by consent of the greater part of them, to establish such laws and ordinances as are for their better government, and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices elect and choose to put in execution." The same provision is found in the patent granted by Sheffield to Cushman and Winslow in January, 1623, for the settlement of Cape Ann, and also in the Colony patent of 1629, granted by the Plymouth Company to Bradford and his associates.

The Compact was not signed by all

the male passengers, even if we assume that the signatures of the fathers made it unnecessary for the sons to sign, or that the sons were minors and therefore they were not asked to sign; there were at least seven male servants and the two seamen who had been hired for a year, whose names do not appear among the signers.

No new settler upon the soil, no later passenger in the vessels which followed in the next few years, ever subscribed his name to the Compact. With only two exceptions, so far as I am advised, there is no reference to it in any law or ordinance or public or official action of the Plymouth Colony at any period of its history. These references are in the recital of reasons for making laws in the Revision of the Laws in 1636 and in the "forme to be placed before the records of the severall inheritances," etc., in the same year. The Compact will always be held in grateful remembrance and high honor by future generations —

"Till the waves in the Bay where the Mayflower lay,
Shall foam and freeze no more."

It is the first state paper in the New World to express and typify and symbolize the high conception, the inspiring idea, of civil liberty, of self-government, of a true democracy. The vision which they dimly saw is realized, the dream fulfilled.

"They did the work they had to do,
They builded better than they knew.
So must the few whom fate
Selects to found a State.

"They founded theirs with psalms and prayers;
What sounder state could be than theirs,
The first since time began
Of faith in God and Man?"

III

PLYMOUTH AND THE PILGRIMS

In the former lectures I have considered some of the political, geographical, and legal conditions which determined the settlement at Plymouth, and some of the economic, social, and religious influences which directed and shaped the Pilgrim migration from England and Holland to the New World.

I propose now to consider mainly those incidents in Pilgrim history which are of special interest, it seems to me, in the Pilgrim story and may have their uses in the consideration of the present problems and perhaps serve to illustrate in what particulars the lives and examples of the Pilgrims have contributed in shaping the American polity.

As has been stated, the "Mayflower" arrived in Cape Cod harbor on the 21st of November, 1620, and the landing at Plym-

outh of the shallop's company was exactly one month later, namely, the 21st of December. Between those dates exploring parties from the "Mayflower" had made their expeditions within the limits of Cape Cod and engaged in unimportant and bloodless encounters with the Indian tribe of the Cape.

On the 16th of December the shallop was dispatched for the purpose of coasting the shore of Cape Cod Bay. In that shallop there sailed ten of the principal men, which number included Standish and the three who were later to serve as governors of the colony during the first generation after the landing — Carver, Bradford, and Winslow. With them went the two seamen hired by the Mayflower Company, and of the ship's company two master mates, a master gunner, and three sailors. It was a distinctively representative company. The ten passengers of the "Mayflower" who went on this expedition were all signers of the Compact. They coasted along the interior line of the bay,

discovering no place adapted for a harbor, and therefore decided to proceed to the place which the pilot, one of the master mates by the name of Coppin, assured them was a good harbor and which they would be likely to reach before nightfall.

The snow and rain, the increasing wind and the roughness of the sea, made the expedition one of peril. In a heavy sea their mast broke and was carried away, and they were obliged to take to their oars. In the rain and darkness of the December night they succeeded in getting under the lee of a small island and remained there that night in safety.

The next day was Sunday. The morning dawned fair. In the warmth of the December's sun they dried their clothes, rested themselves, and gave thanks to God for His mercies in their manifold deliverances.

On Monday, the 21st of December, they sounded the harbor which had welcomed Champlain and Block and Smith before the Pilgrims' arrival, and then,

landing upon the shore and marching in to the land, found the abandoned cornfields and the fresh running brooks. It is the landing of the shallop's company on the 21st of December, 1620, which has passed into history as the Landing of the Pilgrims.

For the preservation of the Rock and its identification as the spot which the Pilgrim feet first pressed as they landed on the shore which was to be their permanent home, we are indebted to the last ruling elder of the Plymouth Church, Elder Thomas Faunce, *clarum et venerabile nomen* in the annals of Plymouth, who, one hundred and twenty years later (1741), standing beside the Rock in the presence of many witnesses, preserved it from being buried beneath a wharf then in process of construction, and told the story of the Landing as it had been told to him by the Pilgrims. He was Elder of the First Church for nearly half a century, from 1699 to 1746, and for nearly forty years, from 1685 to 1723, the Town

Clerk. Born in 1647 he had lived in the lifetime of four members of the shallop's company, a boy of nine years when Standish died, of ten years when Bradford died, and a man of twenty-six years when John Howland died, and these landed from the shallop on December 21, 1620. He was forty years old when John Alden died. He had known twenty-three of the Mayflower passengers, his mother was the sister of Nathaniel Morton, historian and Secretary of the Colony; one sister married the son of Richard Warren; another sister, the son of Edward Dotey; and a third sister, the son of John Robinson. Is there any valid reason, then, to doubt the story which comes from the lips of one whose high character, official position, and unequaled opportunities to learn the fact which he testifies, compel our respect and justify our confidence?

With the news that they had selected this place to plant the feeble settlement, they returned to Cape Cod, and on the 26th of December, 1620, the "Mayflower,"

with torn sails, broken timbers, and battered hull, came to anchor in the harbor of Plymouth. Nine days later they began the erection on Leyden Street of their first house, which was to be the common house for them and their supplies.

At the time of the arrival, according to the letter from John White of the Massachusetts Colony, written ten years later, there was about one foot of snow on the ground, and the weather of the winter months that followed is reported generally to have been mild but wet.

Of the one hundred and two passengers who were on board the "Mayflower" at the date of the signing of the Compact in Cape Cod harbor, twenty-nine were women and girls. The birth of Peregrine White, the first English child born in New England, increased the number to one hundred and three. While the "Mayflower" lay in Cape Cod harbor four of the passengers died, leaving ninety-nine in all from the oldest to the youngest to go forward with this perilous and uncertain adven-

ture. The total number of survivors at the end of the first year was fifty-one. More than half of the company then had died between the signing of the Compact and the arrival of the "Fortune" in November, 1621. Of that number forty-seven had died before the "Mayflower" sailed on its return voyage in April, 1621. Of the forty-one signers of the Compact, twenty-one had perished. Of the eighteen wives and mothers only four survived the hardships of the first year.

"I saw in the naked forest
Our scattered remnant cast,
A screen of shivering branches
Between them and the blast.
The snow was falling round them,
The dying fell as fast,
I looked to see them perish
When lo, the vision passed."

In the last analysis the descendants of the Mayflower Company to-day must trace their descent through different lines to one or more of twenty-two of the male passengers of the "Mayflower."

On the 15th of April, 1621, the "May-

flower," after lying one hundred and ten days in the harbor and losing nearly half of her officers and crew by disease, sails on her return voyage to England, leaving the survivors of the Pilgrim Company behind, "alone with their dead." There was no general landing of the Pilgrims; many of the company had remained on board the "Mayflower" during the winter, and it was not until March 31 that the ship's carpenter was able to fit the shallop "to fetch all from aboard."

The picture of the return of the "Mayflower" from the New World is a more suggestive and striking picture even than the departure of the "Mayflower" from the Old World. Inspired by faith and cheered by the hope of happier days and greater opportunities in the New World, the Mayflower Company had sailed. Now, with half their number gone, what but faith remained? The precedent of earlier expeditions, where the mortality had been less and the survivors included no women and children in the list, would seem to have

fully justified the return of some of the little company which watched from the shore the white sail of the "Mayflower" as it disappeared beyond the horizon, "as an angel's wing through an opening cloud is seen and then withdrawn."

A situation more discouraging could hardly be conceived. Their connections with the Old World were severed. The most that could be hoped was that before another winter some vessel might arrive, bringing new additions to their number and supplies which might enable them to overcome the difficulties which surrounded them. But whether the hoped-for vessel would appear depended not only upon the perils of the seas, but upon the ability of the adventurers to furnish and equip another ship, and whether also there could be found in England or Holland other Pilgrims to attempt the desperate undertaking, in view of the record of the past months. To a degree which can scarcely be overestimated, then, the future of the New World depended upon the indomita-

ble courage and fortitude and faith of these fifty men, women, and children, a company not larger than that number which Dermer, the last voyager to the shores, had stated to be the least number necessary to a successful settlement.

If one were seeking to best illustrate the Pilgrim spirit, or what perhaps may be termed as the Pilgrim quality, he would find it in the fact that, undaunted by the sufferings and losses of the winter, undismayed by the thought of perils which awaited them in the future, with slight grounds for confidence in the final issue, facing pestilence and famine and an Indian foe, uncertain which of the three were most to be feared, they stand upon that hill overlooking the sea where their dead rested in unmarked graves, an example to all ages of an heroic devotion to duty as they saw it and of a faith which could overcome all obstacles.

Such, then, is one of the lessons of the Pilgrim story, and one of the examples which the Pilgrims have left to a nation

which counts them among its founders. It was Sir Francis Bacon who said, "As in the Arts and Sciences, the first foundation is of more consequence than all the improvements afterwards, so in kingdoms, the first foundation or plantation is of more noble dignity and merit than all that followeth." A scene like that which marked the "Mayflower's" departure makes still more clear the meaning of those wise and fine lines.

The climatic and economic conditions of the first years of the Pilgrim Company at Plymouth have been preserved not only in the writings of Bradford, but in the reports of careful and competent observers who visited Plymouth in the early years and noted their observations, and the points of view of these different writers naturally result in laying emphasis upon the conditions which appealed to each the most forcibly. For example, Cushman, the lay preacher, simply describes the general conditions as he found them in 1621, "We have here great peace, plenty

of the Gospel, and many sweet delights and varietie of comforts." William Hilton, who was one of the passengers in the "Fortune," in the letter first printed in Smith's "New England's Trials," describes the country as "Very pleasant and temperate. Great store of fruits and vines in great abundance." The woods are full of game; the lake and sea abound in fish, but for him the persuasive argument for emigration is, "We are all free holders. The rent day doth not trouble us!" Evidently having in his mind the contrast between this new land and England, as Cushman describes it in his "Reasons and Considerations," touching the lawfulness of removing out of England into parts of America:

> In England the hospitals are full of the ancient. . . . And the alms houses are filled with old laborers. Many there are who get their living with bearing burdens, but more are fain to burden the land with their whole bodies. Multitudes get their means of life by prating, and so do numbers more by begging.

John Pory, who had been Secretary for Virginia, on his return voyage from Virginia to England in 1622 in the ship "Discovery" (Thomas Jones, master) stopped at Plymouth for a brief visit. We have the good fortune to have preserved in the John Carter Brown Library a manuscript copy of his letter to the Earl of Southampton, giving an interesting and graphic picture of that visit to Plymouth. He writes:

> Such is the wholesomeness of the place, the Governor told me that for the space of one whole year of the two wherein they had been there, died not one man, woman or child. The healthfulness is accompanied with much plenty, both of fish and fowl every day in the year, as I know no place in the world can match it. He gives as the reason for this plenty the continual tranquility of the place, being guarded on all sides from the fury of the storms, as also the abundance of fish at low water, the bottom of the bay then appearing as a green meadow and lastly, the number of freshets (brooks) running into the bay, where they may refresh their thirst.

And then proceeds:

> Now as concerning the quality of the peo-

ple. How happy were it for our people in the southern colony if they were as free from wickedness and vice as these are in this place.

Pory describes their fortifications and pays tribute to their industry, in that they have erected

a substantial pallisado of 2700 feet in compass, stronger than I have seen in Virginia, and lastly, by a blockhouse which they have erected in the highest part of the town to mount their ordnance upon, from whence they command all the harbor.

While John Smith, a more trained observer, writing in 1624, says:

At Plymouth there is about 180 persons, some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry, 32 dwelling houses whereof 7 were burned the last winter, and the value of 500 pounds in other goods. The town is empaled about an half a mile in compass. In the town, upon a high mount, they have a fort, well built with wood, loam and stone, where is planted their ordnance. Also a fair watch-tower, partly framed for the sentinel. The place it seems is healthful for the last three years, notwithstanding the great want of most necessaries, there having not one died of the first planters.

And De Rasieres, having been sent on an embassy from New Amsterdam to the Plymouth colony in 1627, in a letter to one of the directors of the Dutch West India Company, describes in detail the careful preparations which had been made against hostile attack by sea or land, but also notes that the Pilgrims give the Indian tribes an "example of better ordinances and a better life" than the Dutch give at Manhattan.

One lesson which the example of the Pilgrims teaches is the lesson of adequate military preparation for the safety of the state as well as of the little town. Pory was impressed with the extraordinary industry which the Pilgrims displayed in the construction of their military works, and when one considers how few the number of workers in the early years of the colony and how difficult the construction of so extensive works when the facilities available were quite inadequate, one is impressed with the importance which they gave to this problem of preparation.

As early as 1622 a fort was built on Burial Hill, of stout timber with a flat roof and battlements on which their ordnance was mounted and where they kept constant watch. As Secretary Morton says, "It was a great work for them to do in their weakness and in times of want, but the danger of the time required it." Not only was a fort built, but the town was empaled, including the top of the hill, and with four bulwarks or jetties, from which the whole town could be defended, and in three of which were gates. The extent of this palisade was twenty-seven hundred feet as Smith describes it.

When De Rasieres arrived in 1627 the construction work had been very much extended. The houses were built of hewn planks and the gardens enclosed by planks, so that both the houses and courtyards are arranged in good order. In addition to that, there was a stockade against sudden attacks, and at the ends of the street were the three wooden gates. On the cross-street, in the center of the

palisade, was the Governor's house "before which there was a square enclosure upon which four pedereros are mounted," so as to flank the streets. Then on the hill is the large square house used both as a fort and a meeting-house, with flat roof, made of thick planks, studded with oak beams on the top of which are mounted six cannon which carry balls of from four to five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The cannon command the street and the ford over the brook. The fort stood upon the military crest of the hill, as it is termed, and above it on the very top of the hill was placed the watch-tower, from which a view could be had of the entire country, and where later a beacon in case of Indian attack was lighted.

When they meet for service on Sundays or holidays "they assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door." Then in order, three abreast, led by a sergeant without drum-beat, they march up the hill to

the fort. Behind comes the Governor, on his right hand the preacher with his cloak, and on his left hand the captain with his side arms. And so they march in good order and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard, night and day. Above the fort floats the English flag. Every able-bodied citizen is trained in the use of arms, and in case of sudden alarm, his post is assigned him. In time of public danger, under the Act of 1675 it was ordered that whoever shall shoot off a gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game, except an Indian or a wolf, shall forfeit five shillings.

The fort was several times repaired and enlarged, and finally, just before King Philip's War, was rebuilt. It formed a square one hundred feet on each side with palisades ten and one half feet high, large enough to receive, if necessary, all the citizens in case of attack. There was no danger of a shortage of water, for a flowing spring was located within the enclosure on the slope of the hill.

It is an interesting fact that no hostile shot was ever fired from the guns upon the fort. Occasionally an alarm gun sounded, but no attack was ever made upon the homes enclosed within the palisade, nor was any attack ever made by the Indians upon the homes within the limits of the town of Plymouth until in King Philip's War a few houses were destroyed in the village of Chiltonville.

But the thoroughness of the preparation, the care given to every detail of defense, the compulsory training in the use of military arms, the requirement of the law under which it was necessary for each citizen to equip himself with musket and ammunition, and the fact that nothing was omitted which would tend to secure the safety of the infant colony during all those years, is a sufficient explanation, if any were needed, why they escaped the perils of Indian attack. Both treaty and preparedness they found were necessary for security against the horrors of war and for the maintenance of an enduring

peace, and "useless each without the other."

There are two political and legal instruments which measurably shaped and directed the development of the Pilgrim movement, and which in some important respects may be regarded as marking the technical beginning and close of the independency of town and colony.

First, the Bradford patent of 1629, and secondly, the New England Confederacy of 1643. The Pilgrim story, as related by historian and annalist, is mainly the record of the lives and labors of individuals, the details of municipal action, the establishment of little centers of church and corporate life, the relations of the early settlers with the Indian tribes in the immediate neighborhood, or with the new settlements of later emigrants in plantations somewhat remote from Plymouth. These two incidents stand out somewhat apart in their significance, operation, and effect.

The Bradford Patent

Prior to the issue of the patent from the president and council for New England to Bradford and his associates, dated January 13, 1629, the entries in the Colony Records relate mainly to transfers of land and shares in cattle, the only important general legislation being the court order of December 17, 1623, providing for a jury trial in civil and criminal matters; the order of the 29th of May, 1625, prohibiting the sale or transport of planks, boards, or frames for houses and vessels, which may tend to the destruction of timber, without the consent of the Governor and Council; and the orders relating to transportation of corn, beans, or peas without the colony, and providing that no handicraftsmen should use their trade for any strangers or foreigners till the necessity of the colony be served.

The Bradford patent recites that Bradford and his associates have for nine years lived in New England and have inhabited

and planted a town called by the name of "New Plymouth," and "by the special providence of God and their extraordinary care and industry, they have increased their plantation to near 300 people and are upon all occasions able to relieve any new planters or others, His Majesty's subjects, who may fall upon that coast."

The territorial limits of the tract granted by the patent includes substantially all of Plymouth County and all of Bristol and Barnstable Counties and the towns of Bristol, Warren, Barrington, Little Compton, and Tiverton in Rhode Island, and further includes a grant of fifteen miles on each side of the Kennebec River, on which was the Pilgrim trading-post for trade with the Indians. It is a grant to Bradford, his heirs and assigns, subject to a rental to the King of one fifth of the gold and silver within the territory and one fifth thereof to the President and Council. It provides and authorizes an incorporation of the inhabitants, with liberty "to frame and make orders, ordi-

nances and constitutions," for the better government of their affairs here and also in New England, and that the same may be put in execution by such officers and ministers as he or they shall authorize and depute, provided that such laws and orders be not repugnant to the laws of England or to the frame of government by the President and Council to be hereafter established.

In March, 1641, Governor Bradford surrenders "into the hands of the whole Court, consisting of the free men of this corporation of New Plymouth, all the right and title, power, authoritie, privileges, immunities and freedoms granted in the said letters patent," with some small reservations for the benefit of the old planters.

The memorandum upon the instrument shows that this surrender was made by Bradford in public court to Nathaniel Sowther, then Secretary of the colony, who was especially authorized by the Court to receive the same, together with

the letters patent in the name and for the use of the whole body of freemen. The General Court was composed of all the freemen of the colony; they chose the officers of the government, made the laws, and the first list of freemen, under date of 1633, includes sixty-eight names. This was the body politic of the Plymouth Colony.

The officers were a Governor and seven assistants. There was no deputy governor until 1636, when the Governor was authorized to appoint one of the assistants to govern during his absence, and not till 1679 was a deputy governor actually chosen.

This Bradford patent of 1629 uses the words "Town of New Plymouth," and is the earliest reference to Plymouth as a town. In the Colony laws of 1632 Plymouth is referred to as a town, but the first entry in the Town Records which bears any date, the prior entries relating only to the earmarks of the cattle, is March, 1637, and the first record of a meeting of

the townsmen of New Plymouth at which "all the inhabitants from Jones River to the Eele River were present" was in July, 1638, to consider the disposition of the stock given by James Sherley, a London merchant, to the "poore" of Plymouth.

Under the Provincial laws it was provided, in 1775, that "Every incorporated district shall henceforth be and shall be holden, taken and intended to be a town to all intents and purposes," and under the Acts of 1785 it was provided that "The inhabitants of every town within this government are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate."

The fact is that, as the Supreme Court later held,[1] "Towns become in effect municipal or quasi-corporations without any formal act of incorporation." Thus the date of the establishment of Duxbury is given as 1637, of Hingham as 1635, of Hull as 1644, of Marshfield as 1642, and of Bridgewater as 1656. The immediate ef-

[1] 122 Mass. p. 349.

fect of the patent was firmly to establish the colony on a more secure and more clearly defined foundation and to create a well-regulated body politic and permit a better-organized form of government than had before been practical.

The second event was the establishment, in 1643, fourteen years later, of the New England Confederacy, the union of the four larger colonies, far-reaching in its operation and results.

The New England Confederacy

By 1643 the population of New England had increased to more than twenty thousand persons, and some three hundred ships carrying four thousand families had come over from England and Holland to the New World. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, lying immediately north of the Plymouth Colony, had been founded in 1629. To the south and west of Massachusetts were the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. In addition to these four colonies were two other modest cen-

ters of English population, Providence and Rhode Island. And north and northeast of Massachusetts in that then distant territory, now divided into the States of Maine and New Hampshire, were the little independent settlements of Dover, Exeter, and others. But the important colonies in numbers and wealth were the four colonies above mentioned, Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven.

A combination among those colonies was proposed in order to prevent a general conspiracy of the Indians against the English in all parts and to furnish the necessary means to secure the protection of the settlers. Two delegates from each of the four colonies met at Boston to prepare the articles of confederation, "the model and prototype," says John Quincy Adams, "of the North American Confederacy of 1774."

They agree that the name shall henceforth be the "United Colonies of New England." In the event of peril each col-

ony was to send its quota of men, sufficiently armed and provided for the service in the proportion at first of one hundred men as Massachusetts's share and from each of the other three colonies forty-five men.

For managing the affairs of the whole confederation two commissioners from each jurisdiction were chosen with full power from their several general courts to determine the affairs of war and peace, the number of men for war, the division of supplies and all things "which are proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation, for amitie, offence and defence; not intermeddling with the governmente of any of the jurisdictions."

By the eighth article of the combination it was agreed that the commissioners should endeavor to "frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, . . . for the preservation of peace among themselves and preventing as much as may be all occasions of war or difference with others," and provision was

made for the extradition of fugitive servants or prisoners from one colony to the others. A similar provision is found in the Constitution of the United States,[1] later superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment.

On the 7th of September, 1643, the General Court of Plymouth, having approved the combination, it was ratified in its behalf by its representatives, Winslow and Collier, and thereafter the confederation in form and substance continued until 1686, at which time Sir Edmund Andros appeared with his commission from James II as Governor of all New England.

From the date of the organization of the confederacy, Plymouth's influence in the important questions of peace and war was limited by the authority vested by the combination in the other colonies of the confederacy. By the year 1644 the population of the town of Plymouth had been reduced to the estimated number of one hundred and fifty. The more fertile soil,

[1] Art. IV, Sec. 2.

the greater opportunities for trade which the establishment of settlements from New Hampshire to Connecticut permitted, had been a stimulus to emigration from Plymouth, and had checked the growth of that settlement. Meetings and conferences were held as to the desirability of the removal of the church to some other fit place which might more conveniently and comfortably receive the whole "with such others as might come to them."

It was first determined to remove to a place called "Nauset," which was incorporated in 1646, and its name changed to "Eastham" in 1651. But further investigation showed that that place was remote and not competent to receive the whole body of the church. But many who resolved upon removal took advantage of the agreement and moved away, and as Bradford quaintly puts it:

Thus was this poor church left like an ancient mother, grown old and forgotten of her children, though not in their affections yet in

regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness. Her ancient members being most of them worn away by death and those of later times being like children, translated into other families, and she, like a widow, left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became herself poor.

The establishment of the New England Confederacy, the division of the ancient church, the loss of population and wealth in the town of Plymouth, marks the close of the important influence which Plymouth and the Pilgrim had in other years exerted in the affairs of New England. But no story would be complete or adequate which failed to refer to some incidents, well worth remembering, which illustrate the Pilgrim idea and policy and teach their helpful lesson in the consideration of some of the problems of the present day.

The real use of history is not limited to a mere recital of past events without reference to their connection with, or influence upon, the present. We are all more interested in the present and the

immediate future than in the past; "that at least is secure."

History is the recital of past experience of individuals and nations, and there is no way of judging of the future but by the past and that which the past has revealed to us.

I ask your attention to some consideration of the effect of the Pilgrims' lives and labors, and of the lessons which may be learned from their policy and example.

Upon the stately gate of the great World's Exposition at Chicago, was inscribed the impressive line:

> Toleration in Religion the best fruit of the last four centuries.

That was America's verdict of the value of that gift to humanity and civilization which those centuries have brought. The same hand which wrote the inscription in Chicago drafted the inscription upon the window of the church at Plymouth:

> Religious Liberty, the fruit of Pilgrim sowing.

These fine phrases by President Eliot felicitously express the thought that the re-

ligious liberty and toleration which those centuries have made possible were the Pilgrim ideals.

It is true that in practice or in precept the fullest expression of that ideal cannot be found within the limits of the Plymouth Colony. Roger Williams carried the doctrine of absolute toleration to its logical conclusion and justified a broader liberty than many a Pilgrim leader was ready to accept. But the recognition of this principle of toleration, even if not pressed to its logical extreme, is their legacy to a nation. The full development of the idea into a principle of law and practice came as a result of years of effort and thought and study, but is a necessary result of the Pilgrim example.

When in other colonies for a time religious leaders taught, as did Mather, that "Anti Christ has not a more probable way to advance his kingdom of darkness than by a toleration of all religions," and civil governors held with Governor Dudley in Massachusetts Bay that "It was

the duty of men of God in courts and churches

> "To watch
> O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
> Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice
> To poison all with heresee and vice"

— a little candle lighted at Plymouth burned brightly through the darkness and the gloom. The constitution of the great States and greater Union, of which they laid the corner-stone, now expresses that fundamental principle of the right of individual judgment in matters of conscience and of the duty of the State to recognize and enforce that right whenever challenged, and this principle and duty is the necessary result of the practical development and application of the Pilgrim faith.

The example of the Pilgrim Church and the teachings of Dr. Fuller, who not only practiced medicine, but also taught the congregational polity of the Plymouth church when he visited the early settlements in the Massachusetts Bay, were

contributing, if not controlling, factors in the establishment of the independent churches in the Bay Colony and later followed in the plantations in Connecticut and New Haven.

Church government as well as town government was necessarily affected by local conditions and environment. It was the natural form of government in those little communities and which necessity seemed to compel as best adapted to meet the present requirements and everyday needs. In the election and ordination by each congregation of its own minister, in the adoption by each congregation of a separate and distinct covenant, though bearing a close resemblance to each other, and in the order of public worship the other churches of these early New England settlements followed the Plymouth form of Independency. "Into this Congregationalism," says Dr. Walker, the Plymouth physician, Dr. Fuller was "more than any other man the means of transforming New England Puritanism."

The influence of Plymouth in this result was early recognized, and is supported by contemporaneous authorities and is a matter, therefore, of historic record and not of conjecture merely.

Congregationalism finds its earliest exponent in New England in that first meeting-house on the slope of Burial Hill.

At the basis of that first foundation or plantation here, lay the great ideal that their migration was a transplanting of the family and the home and not merely of individuals, as had been the case in former expeditions to the New World. The unit of the Pilgrim Company was the family. As they gathered on the Mayflower's deck, the members of each family stand side by side; when the allotment of lands was first made in Plymouth, it was an allotment to designated families. Home and family, then, were central ideas, primary units of the Pilgrim Company. The English word "home" has no exact equivalent in any other language; it has

no synonym in ours. No short phrase expresses its full meaning. It conveys not merely the idea of residence, but of permanence; the idea not merely of a place for the collection of its comforts and necessities which supply the present needs of the members of the home, but also the attachments, the memories, the associations of the past and the hopes for the future.

The expeditions to New England in former years were composed of men only, sailors, soldiers, explorers, gallant and adventurous, fit types of the proud race from which they sprung. They sail in search of fame and fortune, inspired by the hope that when these were won, they would return with full hands to the old homes which they were leaving behind. Now the Pilgrim Company was animated by no such hope. They knew that there was no alternative save victory or death. To the Pilgrims the presence of the women and children on the "Mayflower," tossed about by the boisterous waves of the stormy Atlantic, and their presence on

the Plymouth hills and shore in that gloomy winter when half the Pilgrim Company perished "before the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday," was an appeal more persuasive and tender and inspiring than any other to lead them to the highest achievements of courage, fortitude, and faith.

This fact, that the civil polity which they founded had as its central idea the family life and home, that the responsibilities which they assumed, the obligations and the burdens which rested heavily upon them, depended principally upon the relation of the individual Pilgrim to the family which he loved and to which he owed allegiance and loyalty, was the significant and important difference which marks the Pilgrim migration from those which had preceded it. This fundamental idea of the home or family as the unit in the State has been of far-reaching influence in the development of New England.

It is true that the suffrage was a manhood suffrage, qualified, limited, restricted, but widening as the years went by. It is not to be forgotten, however, that this suffrage was also a representative suffrage in which the householder had and exercised the right. There is a familiar passage from an English orator, based upon a judicial opinion of Sir Edward Coke:

> The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it and the storms may enter, the rain may enter, but the King of England cannot enter; all his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement.

That passage admirably expresses that central idea of the part which the home played in the community life when legislation was solely directed to its security and protection, and to its freedom from unreasonable and illegal search. In the changing conditions of the present that earlier idea is losing ground. If it be true that new occasions teach new duties, it is

no less true that time does not always make ancient good uncouth. The emphasis which is now laid upon some modern theories of government, under the operation of which the idea of representation fades, and the policy is established that the husband and father shall no longer represent the wife or daughter or home, is likely to bring in its train enduring results whose effect and character cannot now be foreseen.

I have no intention of entering into the vexed question which that last sentence perhaps suggests. I desire merely to note, as a student of history, the disappearance of the old idea of representative government and the fast-growing tendency to deny some earlier principles which lay at the basis of New England, polity. The operation, and effect of this polity has played its part in the development of State and Nation, and in spite of the present pessimistic views of existing conditions and gloomier predictions for the future, has brought to humanity help and oppor-

tunity for which the centuries which have passed furnished no precedent and no parallel.

Among the great Pilgrim ideals, is this ideal of home and family as the center of the life in the New World, for whose protection, development, and permanence not only forts and palisades were built, but laws and ordinances were also enacted.

The Treaty

On the first of April, 1621, occurred that scene in Pilgrim history in some respects the most interesting, significant, and important of all that the history of the time preserves.

It is a fair day, as the chronicler describes it, and the warm sunshine of the approaching spring illumines the hills and shores. The sun had barely passed its meridian when there appear upon the first street the two friendly Indians, Samoset and Squanto, familiar names, the guides and interpreters of the Pilgrims. They brought the startling message that Massa-

soit and sixty of his men were fast approaching. In an hour the Indians appear in plain sight on Watson's Hill. The Pilgrim Company assembles on the first street and on the summit of that hill the more numerous band of Indian warriors. Squanto goes over from the Pilgrims to the Indians as their interpreter and returns and reports that as a condition of the friendly visit there must be sent to the Indian chief a messenger and a hostage. For that difficult and dangerous task Winslow is selected.

In imagination you see that gallant figure, his sword by his side, his armor flashing in the western sun, his arms filled with presents, a messenger of peace and good-will, a hostage among savage foes, as unattended he crosses the shallow brook by the ancient ford, ascends the hill, and now disappears among the trees. The anxious moments slowly pass, and now from the waiting Pilgrims the cry goes up, "They come! They come!"

In single file, with silent step, one after

another of the Indian warriors comes into view until twenty are seen marching slowly down the hill slope, and then, with "the roll of the stirring drum and the trumpet that sings of fame," the Pilgrim captain and Master Williamson and six musketeers march down the first street to meet at the brook the Indian band. And now they turn, and Pilgrim and Indian, side by side, march up the hill and down the ancient street. It is a striking and suggestive picture, this first formal meeting here in Plymouth of the oncoming and the vanishing races. As the savage figures pass, the timid children shrink more closely to their mothers' sides and the stout hearts of the sturdy Pilgrims beat more quickly as they grasp their muskets and their eyes rest on those anxious faces.

It is a strange and stirring sight as an eye-witness of that scene describes it. The tall, stately figures of the Indian warriors in the prime of their manhood, all strong men, grave of countenance,

spare of speech, their bows and arrows laid aside, some wearing skins over their shoulders, and some only a girdle about their loins. On the chief's neck rested a great string of white bone beads from which, over his dark chest, hung a long knife which glistened in the sunlight; a bag of tobacco hung on his neck behind, and in his hand he carried the pipe of peace. His face was painted a deep red like the color of a mulberry, and his followers' faces were marked and crossed, or wholly colored with black and yellow and white and red paint.

And now they enter the house then building on the slope of Leyden Street, and seated on cushions and a green rug make the famous treaty. Its clear provisions bound them not to injure any of the Pilgrims, and if any one offended them the offender was to be sent to Plymouth for punishment. In case any of the Pilgrims' tools were taken, they were to be restored; if war were made on either Pilgrim or Indian, the other would promptly come

to his assistance. To these conditions of peace they pledged the union of the neighboring tribes. Unarmed each would visit the other, and in return the Pilgrims gave assurance that King James, if the Indians kept the pledge, would esteem them as friendly allies.

When the treaty was concluded, the Governor escorts the returning Indians to the brook, and another troop appears with Quadaquina, the king's brother, as their leader. But Winslow still lingers as a hostage in the Indian camp and the lengthening shadows fall before our messenger returns. "Samoset and Squanto slept that night in Plymouth; and the king and all his men lay all night in the woods not above half an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them," says the chronicler of that day, while the watchful sentinels passed to and fro.

The provisions of the treaty were faithfully kept for many a year. It was not until those who met and feasted and pledged

the peace that day had long passed away that within the limits of the old colony the burning homes of the colonists, a pillar of flame by night and smoke by day, marked the course of the Indian foray. And Philip succeeds Massasoit before the blood of New England's sons fatten the cornfields, or the war-whoop awakens the sleep of the cradle.

It was a high tribute which the Governor of Plymouth Colony fifty-four years later paid to the early colonists when he justly said that the "English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." Then a solemn treaty was not regarded as "a mere scrap of paper."

The agreement with the merchant adventurers involved and required a common holding of property by the settlers for the term of seven years, at which time the real and personal property so held in common would be divided in certain

agreed proportions, as defined in the preceding lecture, among the members of the company. But the conditions required, in the first instance, that immediate provision should be made for the housing of the people.

The first building to be constructed would naturally be a common house adapted for meetings, for the storage of common supplies, and for a place of residence on shore while the private dwellings were being constructed. For the orderly housing of the people it was necessary that they should be divided into families or households, which as Bradford groups them were twenty-four in number, but when the land was measured on January 7, 1621, provision was made for all the single men to join with some family, so that fewer houses might be built, and the number was then reduced to nineteen families. The record in Bradford's handwriting of the meersteads and garden plots which were first laid out shows the first street, now Leyden Street, running from

the hill on the west to the sea on the east, and on the south side of that street seven lots. The great mortality of the first winter wiped out entirely four households, four others entirely escaped the sickness, and of the remaining sixteen households each lost one or more of its members. So that these seven houses on the south side of Leyden Street represented housing facilities for approximately seven persons each, which practically included the surviving members of the Pilgrim Company. In 1623 there was assigned to every family a parcel of land in proportion to the numbers, but only for present use. The next year the demand became insistent for a permanent division of land, which should grant not merely its present use, but such an absolute title as would insure its transmission by inheritance; and to every person was given one acre of land. The allotments show that the division was made in accordance not only with the then present numbers in each family; but also in some instances a larger number of

acres, representing undoubtedly the original members of the family or the contributions in money which had been made and in respect of which an additional share was received in the allotment. The total number of acres distributed among those who came in the "Mayflower" was sixty-nine. Thirty-three acres were allotted to those who came in the "Fortune," and ninety-five acres to those who came in the "Ann" and the "Little James," the emigrants in those four ships being designated as the "first comers." This division made an allotment of one hundred and ninety-seven acres in all. It was probably cleared land and was located along the waterfront.

Speaking generally, these lands are included within a strip extending some two miles along the shore and not more than a quarter of a mile wide in the widest part, and were undoubtedly the most available, convenient, and easily cultivated of the lands adapted to agricultural purposes in the first settlement, and were held in con-

formity with the provisions of the patent, according to the manor of East Greenwich, except that, as De Rasieres noted in his letter describing his visit in 1627, "The eldest son has an acknowledgment for his seniority of birth, which secured to him a double share."

Now this division of lots was made necessary by what some are pleased to call the "infirmity of human nature," but which in fact appears in history as the most potent and helpful factor in the development and prosperity of the race. In the first place, as the Governor noted it, it made all hands very industrious. More corn was planted than would have been done in any other way, and as Bradford quaintly put it, "saved him a great deal of trouble and gave [them] far better content." The women now went willingly into the field and with their little ones planted the corn. Before the allotment they would have alleged weakness and inability. To have exercised compulsion upon them would have been thought

tyranny and oppression. The young men that were most fit for labor and service repined that they should spend their time and strength for other men's wives and children without return. "The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victaile and cloaths, then he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter the other could." (Bradford.)

To everybody but the unfit this seemed injustice. But it was thought indignity and disrespect to make no distinction in labor and its returns between the aged and wise and the younger and meaner sort. Neither wife nor husband could brook the slavery which commanded that the wife should do service for men other than her husband. The effect was that this course diminished the actual respect that should be preserved amongst them and "would have been worse if they had been men of another condition; Let none object this is man's corruption, and nothing to the course itself. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God, in His

wisdom, saw another course fitter for them," said Bradford.

The only two things that appear to remain unchanged since the first syllable of recorded time are nature and human nature. The same procession of the seasons, the same planting and reaping, the same movements of the heavenly bodies and the tides, have endured from the beginning.

> "The mists that wrapped the Pilgrims' sleep
> Still brood upon the tide."

And human nature is still as constant as in the early times, still fresh is human hope, still vigorous is human credulity.

If it were impossible for communism to succeed on Leyden Street three hundred years ago in a homogeneous community, speaking the same language, governed by the same laws, with a common history, tradition, and memories, under the very environment which would seem to compel its success, living under a contract which required its adoption and acceptance, engaged in the same pursuits and in the

presence of common perils, it is idle to argue that under the widely different and vastly more difficult and complicated conditions of the present, communism can prove a success, and human nature remain unchanged. "The experience that was had in this commone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vaniti of that conceite of Platos and other ancients, applauded by some of later times; that the taking away of propertie, and bringing in communitie into a comonewealth, would make them happy and florishing; as if they were wiser than God."

This lesson of the Pilgrim days may well commend itself to the student of modern problems and is a happy illustration how their experience may still continue to be of service.

So the sagacious Bradford writes the story of the trial and failure of communism in Plymouth. Under its impossible conditions and discipline "Personality

and initiative are crushed. Each man watches his neighbor lest he be not doing his full share of work, each man is himself watched and all distrust all. The promised freedom of action is hampered by this universal atmosphere of distrust." These words which I have just quoted might have been written by William Bradford in Plymouth. They picture, as he described, conditions in Plymouth as the result of the communistic government, but the language quoted is from a late report of a writer in the London "Times" who graphically portrays the communistic conditions in Russia in 1920.

It is an interesting fact that this conclusion which the Pilgrim reached was based on actual experience, but also that they had listened to the argument on the other side. Robert Cushman in the common house on Leyden Street had preached his sermon, in November, 1621, on "The Sin and Danger of Self Love." In that discourse he asks, "Why wouldst thou have thy particular portion but because thou

thinkest to live better than thy neighbor?" To Satan he attributes the blame of bringing "this particularizing first into the world," and forcibly presents the argument that "if others be idle and thou diligent, thy fellowship, provocation and example may well help to cure that malady in them, being together, but being asunder, shall they not be more idle, and shall not gentry and beggary be quickly the glorious ensigns of your commonwealth?" The argument for communism is well stated by the lay preacher, who was about to depart to England not to return, and who took the opportunity to present to them some considerations for their acceptance of the somewhat unfortunate agreement he had made as their agent with the merchant adventurers' company, so distinctly communistic in character.

But it was a condition and not a theory which confronted the sagacious leaders of the company. The reasons given by Bradford and their own experience were more persuasive and convincing, as to the

course to be adopted, than the earlier appeal of Cushman, but it is fair to say that in some respects at least the case for communism has not been better presented in the past three hundred years than in the famous sermon of Robert Cushman.

Among the present-day problems which attract attention, invite discussion, and result in much ill-considered and unwise action, is the question of the proper treatment of what are termed "undesirable citizens," who seek by force or violence to overturn constitutional government. At the present time deportation seems to be the peculiar penalty, with slight regard to evidence, and no reference to that great constitutional protection of the individual, jury trial.

This problem was presented to the Pilgrims, and relatively was a much more serious one to the little company gathered upon the Plymouth hillside than that which presents itself to one hundred and ten millions of Americans to-day.

A minister, not of their own choosing, by the name of John Lyford, was sent at the charge of the merchant adventurers to the Plymouth Plantation to be their pastor. He confessed his former disorderly walking and his being entangled with many corruptions, the nature of which particularly appeared later in the investigations, but making a confession of his faith he was received into the church.

In the later activities of Lyford he associated himself with one John Oldham, and the two together seemed to have formed a conspiracy to create as great a faction as possible in the church and to overturn the church and commonwealth. Their efforts could not fail to attract the attention of the watchful leaders of the company. It was thought judicious as well as necessary in those simple days before making an arrest to secure the necessary evidence. The best evidence then, as now, is the written evidence in the handwriting of and signed by the suspected characters.

When the ship sailed for England carrying back with it the letters of Lyford, the Governor takes the shallop, boards the ship in the outer harbor, and seizes the Lyford letters, more than twenty in number, full of false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their ruin and utter subversion. The Governor returns with the letters or copies and bides his time.

The delay naturally resulted in relieving Lyford of any apprehension that the Governor had detected and obtained evidence of their plot, and the conspirators proceeded busily with their scheme. The Governor let things ripen in order to better discover the intent and see who of the company had joined in this perilous conspiracy. Oldham and Lyford, thinking they were strong enough, began operations. Oldham being called to stand as watch, refused to come, resisted the captain, and drew his knife at him. The Governor, hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it, but Oldham raged more like a vicious beast

than a man, and called them all traitors and rebels, and other such foul language as Bradford years after was ashamed to remember. But when they began to act publicly what they had long been plotting, the time had come for action.

A court was called by the Governor, the whole company summoned to appear, and charges were filed against Lyford and Oldham. They denied everything and demanded proof. Then the letters were read. Lyford was struck mute. Oldham raged and called upon his supporters to show their courage, thinking they would side with him in open rebellion. But his deluded followers, struck with the injustice of the position of Oldham and evidently appreciating that he had carried the matter very much farther than they had intended or he had even stated to them, stood silent.

The result of the hearing was that no witness could be found to testify in their behalf, and their adherents, while admitting that they had attended some of their

meetings, denied that they had agreed to adopt the policy and carry out the plans which Lyford had outlined to them. The trial resulted in a full conviction, and was followed by a complete confession on Lyford's part that all he had written was false and that he had wronged them beyond possibility of amends. After the trial, conviction, and confession, the court ordered Lyford and Oldham to be expelled from Plymouth, Oldham to depart at once, though permission was granted for his family to remain all winter until he could make provision for their comfortable removal, and Lyford had permission to remain six months. So mercy tempered justice.

During the six months of grace which were allotted Lyford he was again detected in correspondence tending to injure the colony, but at its expiration he left the colony and later went from Massachusetts Bay to Virginia, where he shortly after died, and as Bradford quaintly states it, "I leave him to the Lord."

Oldham in the spring, in violation of the terms of his sentence that he should not return without leave being first obtained, appeared in the streets of Plymouth. His passions ran beyond the limits of all reason and modesty, so that some strangers who came with him were ashamed of his violence and rebuked him. He was promptly seized and committed to prison until he was tamer, and then, through a guard of musketeers, every one of whom was ordered to give him a "thump on the brich with the but end of his musket," he was conveyed to the waterside where a boat was ready to carry him away. "Then they bid him goe and mende his maners."

Even at the present time, when deportation is the penalty in those offenses against order and government with which, unhappily, we are now familiar, is it not well to remember the example of the Pilgrims and require that there should be neither conviction nor sentence except after a fair trial, before an impartial jury,

and where the accused shall have full opportunity to hear the testimony of the witnesses summoned against him, and to reply?

And then the penalty may well be tempered with mercy according to the wise and approved rule of the great Pilgrim pastor in his letter to the Governor, the "punishment to a few and the fear to many."

If for a moment we could lift the veil of the centuries and from out the shadowy past summon the form of one of the great leaders of that immortal company to stand forth and be their spokesman to-day, and bid the dumb lips speak again as in the olden time, this would be the Pilgrim's message which would fall on your attentive and listening ears:

"The toils we bore
  Your ease have wrought,
We sowed in tears,
  In joy you reap.
That birthright we so dearly bought
  Here guard, till you with us shall sleep!"

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